

THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Vol. 138

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

THE EDITOR

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND EUROPEAN UNITY

JULIAN AMERY, M.P.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE TOWARDS CRIME

THE VISCOUNTESS RIDLEY, J.P.

THE FUTURE OF THE LICENSED HOUSE

THE HON. PETER REMNANT, M.P.

THE SAINT IN POLITICS

A. L. ROWSE

DAVID BEATTY COMMANDER STEPHEN KING-HALL

THE MACHINERY OF MONEY

P. E. SMART

AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS BY DENYS SMITH, LADY EVE
BALFOUR, ERIC GILLET, CLIFFORD BAX, JOHN HILARY, MILWARD
KENNEDY, THE EARL OF CARDIGAN AND ALEC ROBERTSON.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

JULIAN AMERY, M.P. (Cons.) for Preston North since 1950. A British Delegate to the Council of Europe. Author of *Sons of the Eagle*, and Volume IV of *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*.

THE VISCOUNTESS RIDLEY, J.P. (since 1943). Co-opted member on Education, Maternity and Children's Committees of the Northumberland County Council since 1928. Member of N.E. Regional Hospital Board.

DENYS SMITH: Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Washington.

THE HON. PETER REMNANT, M.P. (Cons.) for Wokingham Division of Berkshire since 1950.

LADY EVE BALFOUR: Organising Secretary of the Soil Association.

ERIC GILLETT: Literary Editor of *The National and English Review*.

A. L. ROWSE: Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Lecturer of Merton College, 1927-31. London School of Economics, 1931-35. Author of *Tudor Cornwall*, *The Spirit of English History*, etc.

COMMANDER STEPHEN KING-HALL, R.N. (Retd.). M.P. (Ind. Nat.) for Ormskirk, 1939-45. Founded the Hansard Society, 1945. Author of *The War at Sea*, 1914-18, etc., etc. Well-known broadcaster.

CLIFFORD BAX, F.R.S.L., F.S.A.: Studied at the Slade School of Art. Abandoned painting for literature. Author of books and plays. Chairman of the Incorporated Stage Society, 1929.

P. E. SMART: Works at the Head Office of one of the leading Banks. Has written for various banking periodicals.

EARL OF CARDIGAN: Served R.A.S.C., 1939-45. Well-known motoring correspondent. Author of *Amateur Pilot*, *I Walked Alone*, *The Life and Loyalties of Thomas Bruce*, *Wardens of Savernake Forest*.

ALEC ROBERTSON: In charge of Music Talks, B.B.C., since 1940.

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

AS the New Year begins, we wish all our readers happiness and success throughout it, and we hope that the next twelve months may be marked by recovery at home and peace in the world. 1952 is not simply a figure: it reminds us that we are still living in an era which is ostensibly Christian. Even the survival of the human race cannot be taken for granted, but if we continue to live, and if we persist in calling ourselves Christians, let us be sure that the term has real vitality and meaning. Let us make 1952 a Year of Our Lord in fact as well as in name.

Mr. Churchill's Optimism

WHEN we weigh in our minds the chances of peace or war, the published facts are not encouraging. Russia and her Satellites are still greatly superior to the Western Powers in "conventional arms," and our atomic advantage is presumably diminishing. So long as the United States had a store of atom bombs and the Soviet Union had none, there was reason to regard those bombs as an effective deterrent. But if and when the Russians have any considerable number of atom bombs, the fact that the Americans have many more may not be so very important, because a few such bombs can, so to speak, go a long way. And it is logical to suppose that the Russians must by now have manufactured quite a few atom bombs.

This rather dismal train of thought is strongly suggested by the facts as we know them. But Mr. Churchill, who can be credited with as much inside information as any man, has recently made a distinctly optimistic statement about the prospects of peace. Opening the Defence debate in the House of Commons on December 6, he said:—

Looking back over the last few years, I cannot feel that the danger of a third war is so great now as it was at the time of the Berlin Air Lift crisis in 1948. . . .

We are sure that Mr. Churchill would not have spoken in this way unless he had had special knowledge to supplement his natural cheerfulness.

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The Defence of Europe

GENERAL EISENHOWER, too, has made an encouraging pronouncement. He has said that if the members of N.A.T.O. can realise their plans for more rapid rearmament during 1952, "we will soon reach a point where it would be foolish to attack us." And on November 29 he told the Atlantic Ministers in Rome that "under the programme now in hand we can, in Western Europe, erect a defence that can at least, although expensively and uneasily, produce a stalemate." But regarding the present position he admitted that we were "far too weak to provide the assured safety that we require."

The General is a firm believer in the need for a European Army: but this is a very thorny and difficult subject. The main justification for such an Army is that it would—or might—enable Western Germany to make a military contribution without reviving an independent *Wehrmacht*. The Americans are very eager to secure German participation, and unless a decision is soon reached to set up a European defence force with German formations, it is possible that they might take the bit between their teeth and press for Western Germany's admission to full membership of N.A.T.O.

Illusions about Germany

IT is obvious that the Americans tend to misunderstand and oversimplify the problem of Germany. So indeed do many Englishmen: but with the Americans a special factor operates, and of this we must take due account. Many of them (including General Eisenhower himself) are of German extraction, and this, added to the normal American faith in human nature, may tend to give them an emotional bias in favour of the Germans. Of course they wholeheartedly detest "militarism" and "Nazism": but they appear much too-ready to believe that these manifestations were the result of evil leadership, rather than of deep-rooted national instinct. They are inclined to attribute to the Germans virtues and ideals which they themselves have acquired as Americans, but which certainly do not derive from their German ancestry. They are susceptible to the fatal myth that the Western Germans are at heart "democratic," and that their only desire is to be protected, or to be allowed to protect themselves, against aggressive Communism.

Dr. Adenauer in London

ONE of the chief propagators of this myth is Dr. Adenauer, the West German Chancellor, who last month paid an official visit to this country. No doubt Dr. Adenauer is a sincere and sensible man: his career is one of which any German could be proud—but which extremely few Germans can claim to have emulated.

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Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden gave Dr. Adenauer a friendly reception, as was, indeed, appropriate: but we are sure that they must be quite free from the illusion that he is a representative German. We are sure, too, that those members of both Houses of Parliament, to whom Dr. Adenauer spoke on December 4, must have heard with surprise and scepticism his remark that the Germans hated war. On this point the logic of history is irresistible, and the folly of wishful thinking has been proved in two world wars. A nation does not change its character overnight, and the Germans have an exceptionally strong national character. They feel that it is their destiny to dominate the world, and if they now appear to have repudiated Hitler and the Kaiser, they have done so because those leaders failed, in the last resort, to conquer, and not because they had the desire and the inclination to conquer. Field-Marshal Rommel, whom some infatuated people depict as a *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, only turned against Hitler when the latter's fortunes were in decline. Is it not wise to assume that the Germans of to-day, if they were rearmed in the West as well as in the East, would soon dispense with any leaders who were not full-blooded nationalists?

Socialist Futility

BUT the line which we are taking, and have consistently taken, about German rearmament, is quite different from that which the Bevanites took before the Election, and which nearly all Socialists have been taking since. We do not deprecate rearming the Germans because we think the Russian danger is overrated, but because we think a strong Germany would add to a danger which is already immense. And, unlike the Socialists, we are aware that those who object to German rearmament have a responsibility to say by what other means they think the Western Alliance can be made strong enough to deter the Communists. The attitude of our Left-wingers is futile, because they condemn German rearmament without offering any alternative.

Why not Spain ?

THE N.A.T.O. forces are at present heavily outnumbered by those of the Soviet bloc, and that is why the question has arisen of arming Western Germany. But cannot the necessary manpower be found elsewhere? The Spanish Army is about three-quarters of a million strong, and it probably makes up in training and discipline for what it lacks in equipment. As for the Franco régime, there is of course much to be said against it, though most of its critics make the mistake of judging it by ideal, rather than by Spanish, standards. But we cannot anyway afford to be too choosy when our very existence is threatened. In 1941, our disapproval of the Soviet régime did not prevent us from co-operating with Russia in the war against Germany; at that moment Germany was the greater threat and Russia, having been attacked, was willy-nilly on

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our side. The same principle should now govern our policy towards Franco Spain. The Caudillo is admittedly no democrat, and he occasionally commits verbal aggression against Gibraltar. But he is undoubtedly on our side in the cold war against Communism, and his troops would surely be preferable to German troops as reinforcements to the Atlantic Army.

Some Socialists appear to be tolerant of tyranny, so long as it is tyranny of the Left. Mr. Bevan, for instance, is an admirer of Marshal Tito. But this is childish partiality and, when the future of the world is at stake, dangerous frivolity. We can see no valid reason for leaving Spain outside the European defence system.

Developments at Strasbourg

THE Council of Europe has temporarily lost its bearings, because so many of its members persisted in thinking that Mr. Churchill and the Conservative Party would, as soon as they came to power, commit Great Britain to joining a Western European Federation. The absurdity of this idea should have been apparent to anyone with a knowledge of British history and politics, and more especially to anyone with a rudimentary understanding of the British Commonwealth. But federalism is a form of mania which seems to impair the rational faculties of its victims.

No doubt it is arguable that Mr. Churchill and his entourage might have done more to disillusion their Continental brethren when the Council of Europe was in its earliest stages. But on the other hand it should be remembered that, had they done so, they might have alienated many enthusiasts who, because of their devotion to the cause of European unity, were almost indispensable. Mr. Churchill seldom, if ever, gave away any technical points to the federalists: but he was obviously anxious to let them down gently, and he may thus have given the impression, in some of his more general utterances, that he was in favour of federal institutions. Besides, it is quite possible that he may, in fact, favour a limited federation of Western Europe, excluding Great Britain.

In our first article this month, Mr. Julian Amery, who has been a prominent and active member of the British team at Strasbourg, discusses recent developments there and gives a very fair exposition of the Conservative attitude towards European unity. We hope his article will be carefully studied here at home, on the Continent, and in the United States.

Unity on Commonwealth Lines

MR. AMERY is, of course, a Commonwealth and Empire man first and foremost, and he must have been glad to hear M. Schuman speak to the Consultative Assembly at Strasbourg, on December 10, as follows:

The setting up of a body of independent managers was acceptable in the case of an economic enterprise [the Schuman Plan], but it seems to me

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to be out of the question when political decisions are at stake. When these are involved the ultimate authority can be only a council of Ministers. Such is the solution adopted by the British Commonwealth. If such a principle is accepted, and if the community spirit exists and is consolidated, the result will be the emergence of a common opinion without a vote and without the application of a majority or unanimity rule.

This acceptance of the Commonwealth principle by so eminent a European statesman is certainly encouraging. But Mr. Amery makes the point, which should also be borne in mind, that the British Commonwealth is able to work because the nations which compose it have reasonably stable Governments—a condition which has not traditionally applied in every country of Western Europe.

Amr Pasha Recalled

THE tragedy of Anglo-Egyptian relations is deepening as we go to press. Amr Pasha, who has been a true friend of Britain as well as an able and worthy representative of his own country, has been recalled from London as a further gesture of hostility by the Wafdist Government. There have been many more incidents in the Canal Zone, and the Egyptian people are being worked up into a violent and passionate mood.

It is impossible to predict what will happen, but matters seem to be drifting rapidly towards total disaster. This can only be averted if the more responsible elements in Egypt are able to assert themselves in time. But time is short and the opportunity for internal action is fast disappearing. We hope that those who have the will to take such action have not yet lost the power, and that intimidation will not complete the ruin which corruption has prepared.

Foreign Exchange Market Reopened

ON December 15 it was announced that the London foreign exchange market would be reopened, having been virtually dormant since 1939; and that forward business in "specified currencies," including American and Canadian dollars, would no longer be transacted at rigid rates prescribed by the Bank of England, but would be negotiated within a margin of one per cent. of the official parities (this margin having been laid down in an International Monetary Fund regulation).

The Government have thus made another move in the direction of greater economic freedom and flexibility. Their decision has put an end to rumours that a further devaluation of the pound was imminent, and it will increase confidence in sterling throughout the world. It may also be expected to have the very desirable effect of stimulating exports to, and discouraging imports from, the dollar area, because exporters will now be able to dispose of their prospective dollar earnings at a favourable price, whereas importers will have to pay a higher price for the dollars they require.

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The goal of free convertibility seems less remote and unattainable as a result of this decision. Meanwhile (to quote *The Financial Times*), "a rate of exchange which has been fixed, at least in part, by the balance of supply and demand will command greater respect than a rate which is fixed by administrative fiat."

Coal

OUR economic crisis has, of course, many aspects: but it is fair to say that the coal problem has an urgency all its own. Coal is our most important raw material, and if we could only be extracting from beneath our soil as much of it as we need for industry, for household consumption, and for export, our economic difficulties would be almost at an end.

Unfortunately, at the very moment when our need for coal is greatest, British manpower is drifting away from the mines. During the twenty months' period ending in November, 1950, there had been a net loss of 42,000 men; and although there was a temporary improvement in the early part of last year, there has since been a further wastage.

In our opinion the only short-term answer is that thousands of Italians should as soon as possible be allowed to come in and take the place of our own compatriots who have left the mining industry. This would not only help to solve our own problem; it would also help to solve the grievous problem of mass unemployment in Italy. But the idea is obdurately opposed by the National Union of Mineworkers, whose Communist General Secretary, Mr. Arthur Horner, has just said in a speech that "the employment of Italians is merely an alibi for the nation's failure to persuade our own people to enter the pits"—in spite of the fact that his Union's latest wage claim has been conceded.

Testing Public Opinion

IF Mr. Horner and the Miners' Union refuse to co-operate in any large-scale introduction of foreign labour, and if (as seems likely) their refusal impedes the recovery of the whole country, it will be necessary for the Government to have a show-down on this issue. The nation cannot be sacrificed to the prejudice of a section, and it would be very helpful if the nation could be given an opportunity to advise the Government—and the miners—of its majority view.

The idea of a referendum to decide an issue is repugnant to our Constitution, because it would limit the sovereignty of the King in Parliament. But there is surely much to be said for holding now and then a nation-wide vote, simply to test public opinion on some definite question of outstanding importance—such as the question whether or not foreign labour should be brought in to increase the output of coal. Public opinion polls, conducted unofficially and on a "cross-section" principle, have become a feature of modern democracy. Would it not

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be better to rationalise this procedure, and to ask the opinion of every elector instead of a few casual passers-by? The resulting verdict would have no constitutional authority, but it would provide the Government and Parliament with information of the highest value. And whereas a General Election is inevitably fought on Party lines, an advisory referendum could, if the politicians behaved in a responsible manner, be a quite objective expression of opinion by the electorate, which would be enabled to give a straight answer to a straight question.

The House of Lords

ON December 3 Mr. Martin Lindsay asked the Prime Minister in Parliament when he intended "to initiate an all-party conference to consider proposals for reform of the House of Lords." Mr. Churchill replied:—"I am not at present in a position to make a statement with regard to the conference to which my hon. friend refers. It could in any case not be held before some time next year in view of the pressure of urgent business before the Government."

It is of course quite understandable that Mr. Churchill should play for time on this question, because he has inherited so many problems which demand his instant attention, and because constitutional reform requires very careful thought and handling. To embark upon an all-party conference on the House of Lords without adequate preparation would be a fatal mistake, and would gravely compromise the chances (anyway slender) of an agreed solution.

An Issue not to be Shirked

ALL the same, there is a vagueness about Mr. Churchill's reply which causes us some concern. We should have preferred it to contain some positive assurance that Conservative policy in regard to the House of Lords will not be shelved, and that the vital issue as between bicameral and single-chamber government will not be shirked. There is no doubt that some people who ought to know better are prepared, in effect, to allow the House of Lords to become no more than a debating society and an ornamental adjunct to the House of Commons. It has already lost, at any rate temporarily, nearly all its power to delay legislation: but this loss, crippling as it is to the Constitution, and menacing to the cause of true democracy, is probably less serious than the failure to establish the moral authority of the House of Lords by reforming its composition. Unless the Upper House is soon reformed in such a way as to preserve its traditional character, while ridding it of the automatic majority for one Party which has for so long been its chief defect, we shall have to endure the consequences of single-chamber government. And while there are many who might welcome this form of government in theory, we are satisfied that very few of our compatriots would relish it in practice.

A Safeguard for Democracy

AFTER all, it was tried three centuries ago by no less a statesman than Oliver Cromwell, and he very soon realised what a mistake he had made. No propaganda is more specious than that which represents the second chamber as a necessarily undemocratic institution. An assembly which is elected for a period of years may be very undemocratic if it enacts controversial measures without making sure that the country approves of them. For instance, a House of Commons, elected for five years, may be a more or less democratic body on the morrow of its election : but in the third, fourth and fifth years of its life its " mandate " is bound to become increasingly a fiction, and on some occasions it may act in defiance of the wishes of a majority in the country. In such cases only a Second Chamber, with power to check, revise and delay the bills which are sent up to it, can, in the last resort, ensure that the people themselves are given the chance to confirm or reject the Government of the day.

Mob-orators of the Left are prone to speak of the House of Lords as an obstruction to the will of the people : but in fact the House of Commons would, if it were left in sole possession of the legislative field, be potentially a far worse obstruction than the " other place " has ever been. The Conservative Party must never forget that it is a constitutional Party, and that it has a solemn duty to save the country from the oligarchy of a single House. If there were no effective House of Lords, Rousseau's famous remark would indeed be justified, and Great Britain would only be a democracy on one day in every five years !

The B.B.C.: Another Vital Matter

IT is vital too that the opportunity should not be lost of breaking the public monopoly of broadcasting. Strange as it may seem, some Conservatives are still quite muddle-headed on this issue, and fail to perceive the importance of establishing freedom on the air, at a time when the influence of wireless and television is immense and steadily growing.

On December 12 *The Daily Telegraph* published an excellent letter on this subject from Mr. John Rodgers, the Member for Sevenoaks, which ended thus :—

So many who have not studied the problem thoroughly make the mistake of believing that one has to have either an absolute monopoly or the American system. This is palpably untrue, in that our great Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa—have, in truly British fashion, evolved compromise systems between these two extremes. We have now got six months in which to exercise our minds in evolving a compromise.

From a social point of view, I believe the only event in human history comparable with the invention of radio was the invention of printing. If radio and television are to be the servants and not the mental manacles of a free society, surely they must follow in the printers' footsteps.

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The reason that we have "six months in which to exercise our minds" is that the Government have proposed that the B.B.C. should be given a temporary Charter for that period, "so as to afford reasonable time for the examination of the terms of a longer-term Charter, and for consideration by Parliament." We trust that Mr. Rodgers will make good use of the breathing-space so afforded.

Mr. Selwyn Lloyd: A Key Figure

SO much for the Back Benches. On the Front Bench a key figure is Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who was a member of the Beveridge Committee on broadcasting, issued a minority report dissenting from the committee's verdict in favour of monopoly, and contributed to this *Review* in June of last year an article in which he developed his arguments for greater freedom and competition on the air. "I believe," he wrote, "that the House of Commons should take a speedy decision in principle that broadcasting is no longer to develop within the structure of a single corporation. Television could be hived off from sound without difficulty."

Mr. Lloyd is now Minister of State in the Foreign Office, and he has recently been very busy deputising for Mr. Eden in Paris. He must therefore have little time even to think about home politics, and it may seem heartless to suggest that he should enlighten his senior colleagues about the future of broadcasting. Many of them, we hope, have already seen the light, but Mr. Lloyd would be doing the country a great service if he would use his arts of persuasion upon those who have not. The subject is so important that he would surely be justified in making this special effort outside his own departmental sphere.

The Analogy of the Press

WE would ask all those who have accepted at their face-value the stock arguments against free broadcasting to observe that exactly the same arguments could be used against a free Press. Some hypersensitive readers may dislike seeing advertisements in newspapers and periodicals: they may feel that such a commercial display detracts from the intellectual or æsthetic purity of the contents, and they may also suspect (usually without the slightest justification) that editorial policy is dictated or conditioned by the wishes of advertisers.

But even among those who have a positive distaste for advertisements, very few would welcome the setting up of a public corporation in which was vested the sole right to spread the news, and comment upon it, in print. A B.N.P.C. (British Newspapers and Periodicals Corporation) would not enjoy the lazy acquiescence which is given to the B.B.C., because whereas we are as yet unfamiliar with the benefits of free wireless and television, every citizen of this country has experienced the benefits of a free Press. We agree that it is a mistake to be too logical: but praising a free Press, and at the same time supporting a public monopoly of broadcasting, is carrying illogicality to an absurd extreme.

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A Spurious Option

BESIDES, it is spurious (as Mr. Rodgers, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and others have shown) to suggest that the only alternative to our present system is the 100 per cent. commercial system of the United States. In other nations of the Commonwealth the two systems, public and private, are working side by side; and it is towards such a compromise that we should surely turn if we decided to break the B.B.C.'s monopoly.

There are, of course, technical difficulties, because the B.B.C. has been so behindhand in developing higher frequency modulation. Those who are working a monopoly can hardly be expected to gather the faggots for their own funeral pyre. But in the course of the next few years such difficulties can be overcome, and meanwhile the principle of freedom can be asserted by Parliament.

"Fifty Years Ago"

WE publish this month (on page 30) the first of a new series entitled "Fifty Years Ago." The title is almost self-explanatory; and if the idea seems to justify itself, we intend to publish every month an extract or extracts from *The National Review* exactly half a century before, with a brief running commentary.

It is not at all difficult to find material which deserves to be quoted and which should be of interest to readers to-day. The difficulty, indeed, is to limit the selection. For us it is an instructive experience to make contact with the vigorous mind of our predecessor, Leo Maxse, who was beyond doubt one of England's greatest journalists. And it is somewhat comforting to find that, although much has changed in the last fifty years, many of the subjects on which he wrote, and persuaded others to write, are still of vivid practical interest; and that the numbers which he brought out month by month have permanent, as well as ephemeral, value.

We hope that "Fifty Years Ago" will be diverting to all our readers, and that it will serve as a monument to a brilliant and far-sighted editor.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND EUROPEAN UNITY

By JULIAN AMERY, M.P.

A UNITED Europe has been one of the declared aims of Conservative policy since the summer of 1946. In promoting it, Mr. Churchill has personally taken the lead. When, therefore, the Conservatives were returned to power, great hopes were raised on the Continent. Six weeks later, the Consultative Assembly met at Strasbourg. Since then Britain has been subjected in the Continental (and the American) Press to a barrage of criticism ranging from polite expressions of disillusionment to charges of *Perfidie Albion*. To understand what has happened we must look back a little.

The defeat of Germany left a vacuum in Europe. On the one side stood the English-speaking Powers. On the other the Soviet Union. Between them lay the war-torn and shattered nations of the Continent. The danger of Communist revolution or Russian military invasion was plain. It threatened Britain with the prospect of a hostile power established in the Channel Ports and athwart the sea and air communications which link this island and Canada with the rest of the Commonwealth. Unless, therefore, Britain and the U.S. were to carry the whole burden of European defence and reconstruction on their shoulders, some system had to be devised which would fill the vacuum on the Continent and hold back the Soviet tide.

Against this background Mr. Churchill's speech at Zürich in September of 1946 appears as the logical consequence of the Fulton speech delivered

six months earlier. At Fulton, Mr. Churchill had given public recognition to the rift between the Soviet Union and the English-speaking Powers. At Zürich he called for a "United States of Europe" to fill the vacuum that lay between.

The Zürich speech received an immediate response. Thousands of letters poured in from ordinary men and women urging Mr. Churchill and his friends to give practical effect to the idea of European unity. They did not refuse that responsibility. With the help of friends on the Continent they formed the European Movement and presently persuaded the different Governments to set up the Council of Europe.

What form was this new Europe to take? On the Continent it was assumed that it would be federal. The accepted Continental conception of democracy regards power as emanating from the people and proceeding by delegation upwards. This leads logically to a federal conclusion. Many European political leaders, too, were under the spell of the American example and tended to attribute the power and prosperity of the U.S. to its political structure.

Mr. Churchill and his friends made it clear from the beginning—both in the House of Commons and at Strasbourg—that Britain would not join a federation. Again and again it was explained that we cannot do so because of our position in the Commonwealth and our special relationship with the U.S.

But the Conservative leaders never opposed a federation of the Continental states. On the contrary, it is not Britain, but the Continental states themselves that have resisted this development. The Scandinavians on the one hand, and the Greeks and Turks on the other, will not look at a European Federation without Britain. Nor will the Benelux powers. The supporters of the Italian and German Governments have declared in favour of such a Federation; but the more the French contemplate the prospect of *a tête à tête* with Germany, the more their hesitation grows. For three successive years, no proposal for a limited Continental Federation has managed to secure the necessary majority in the Assembly at Strasbourg.

What, then, was the British conception of a European Union? Nations, like individuals, tend to proceed on the analogy of their own experience. The Americans see the future of Europe in terms of their own federal development. We tend to see it in terms of the Commonwealth. In economic matters, we have proposed a closer association between the European currencies and sterling, and the formation of a European Preferential Area which might interfere with the system of Commonwealth preferences. In the political sphere, we have looked to the Committee of Ministers to ensure continuous consultation between Governments. We have also looked to the Assembly to help political leaders to see their own domestic problems in a broader European perspective. Above all, we have emphasised the need to associate the other countries of the British Commonwealth with the work of the Council of Europe.

This British conception of European Union has met with considerable support at Strasbourg. The idea of a closer association between the European

currencies and sterling has been embodied in the resolutions of the Assembly. So has the need for co-operation with the Commonwealth countries, which are now represented by official observers sitting on the floor of the House. On the political side, however, the Continentals still doubt whether the Commonwealth solution can be successfully applied to Europe. They recognise the importance of consultation between governments. Indeed, they have now proposed the appointment by the different nations of European Ministers, who would act as substitutes for the Foreign Ministers and so enable the Committee of Ministers to meet more frequently. But, on the Continent, democratic Governments have tended to be ephemeral. It is Parliaments, not Governments, that count. There is thus a tendency to feel that consultation between Governments is a fragile link. There is also a strong feeling that if Governments are to work together, their common action should be subject to some common democratic control. Hence the continual struggle to make the Committee of Ministers responsible to the Assembly.

Between the Federal and the Commonwealth conceptions of European Union there has grown up a third school of thought: the so-called "functional" conception. By "functional" is meant the setting up of joint organisations designed to ensure European co-operation in specific sectors, such as trade relations, heavy industries, defence, agriculture and transport. This functional approach is an attempt to reach a compromise. Unfortunately it has been interpreted in different senses by different nations. For the British it has meant organisations of the type of the O.E.E.C. or the E.P.U., in which ultimate responsibility rests with national governments. For the French

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it has meant a supra-national authority as envisaged in the Schuman and the Pleven Plans.

The Conservative leaders welcomed the broad conception of the Schuman Plan and voted in the House of Commons in favour of British participation in the preliminary talks in Paris. From the beginning, however, they made it clear that Britain could not accept the supra-national High Authority proposed in M. Monnet's first draft of the Plan. At Strasbourg, indeed, a few months later, the Conservative Delegation put forward the so-called "Macmillan-Eccles proposals" outlining the kind of coal and steel authority which would, in their view, be acceptable to Britain. The main feature of this plan was that, as in the O.E.E.C., ultimate responsibility rested with a Committee of Ministers, who, in essential matters, would proceed by a unanimous vote. The "Macmillan-Eccles proposals" received little support at Strasbourg. It is fair to say, however, that the Schuman Plan, in its final form, is nearer to those proposals than to M. Monnet's original draft.

Six nations have now signed the treaty setting up the High Authority. The Dutch and French have already ratified it and the others are expected to follow suit. The new Conservative Government could not adhere to the Schuman Plan Treaty. Its terms still involve too great a surrender of sovereignty. Nor could they, in reason, have asked for the negotiations to be reopened. To have done so, indeed, might well have invited a rebuff. Accordingly, they adopted the most positive remaining course and undertook, as soon as ratification had taken place, to attach a permanent delegation to the High Authority to ensure co-operation between it and Britain's heavy industries.

The Pleven Plan derives from Mr.

Churchill's proposal, made in August 1950, for the creation of "a European Army, under the authority of a European Minister of Defence, subject to proper democratic control and acting in full co-operation with the United States and Canada." The British conception was that there should be national elements, of at least divisional strength, forming a single Army under a single command. Flanking the Commander-in-Chief should be a civilian, a Minister of State, who would ensure liaison between the Army and the Governments. This Minister and the military command would have been responsible to a Committee of Ministers. These, in their turn, would have been subject to the democratic control of their respective Parliaments. This British conception was explained both in the House of Commons and in the Assembly by Mr. Duncan Sandys.

The plan proposed by M. Pleven is still not finalised. Such information, however, as has become known about it, suggests that it goes far beyond the British conception. There is to be a supra-national authority, not subject to Governmental control but responsible to a Parliamentary body. A far-reaching degree of military integration is also contemplated, which threatens to deprive the different units of their main national characteristics. M. Van Zeeland explained at Strasbourg that the negotiations are still far from complete and that he hopes other Powers may still join in them. His colleagues, however, seem reluctant to concede even Belgium's demands. If this is so, it is unlikely that they will be ready to modify their plans enough to suit Britain. In the circumstances, it is doubtful whether the British Government can do more than declare its readiness to establish the closest co-operation with the new Defence Community, if and when it comes into being.

The policy of the Conservative Government towards the Schuman and Pleven Plans has not been inconsistent with its declarations in opposition. It must be admitted, however, that the presentation of that policy has been, to say the least, mishandled. Sir David Maxwell Fyfe's speech in the Assembly did not come up to the full extent of Continental expectations. It did, however, hold out considerable hopes. Besides announcing Britain's decision to send a permanent delegation to the seat of the Steel and Coal Authority, the Home Secretary also indicated that the door was not closed against British participation in the European Army. The very same evening, however, Mr. Eden was reported as having returned a blunt negative when asked in Rome whether Britain would join the European Army. This unqualified and unexplained refusal came as a severe shock to those delegates who had heard the Home Secretary that morning and who recalled Mr. Churchill's speech on the European Army only a year ago. An official *démenti* was issued some days later; and Mr. Churchill explained the Government's position in the Defence debate. But by then much of the harm had been done. Nor were matters improved by the news that Schuman, de Gasperi, Adenauer and Van Zeeland were coming to Strasbourg to address the Assembly, but that Churchill and Eden were not. The absence of the English leaders was justified by the fact that the Continental Ministers were meeting primarily to discuss the European Army. Many Continentals, however, read into it confirmation of their fears that Britain was withdrawing from Europe.

But mismanagement such as this, though serious, only accounts for a small part of the criticism in the Continental press. At least as great a part arises from a very different cause. It

is important to remember that the French and German Governments have made very little effort to secure British participation in the Schuman or the Pleven Plans. One reason for this was, no doubt, the negative attitude on European questions of the Labour Government. But this is not the only reason. Certain elements in France look on the Schuman and Pleven Plans not merely as a means of keeping German industry and the German Army under control, but also as a means of reviving the primacy of France in Europe. They are not, therefore, particularly anxious to secure British participation in their Continental plans. The Germans on their side regard membership of the Schuman and Pleven Plans as so many opportunities for regaining full independence and equality of status in the world. They also hope, no doubt, that in a purely Continental system—i.e. one without Britain—their superior energies may once again give them the leadership of Europe.

There is an obvious conflict of interests between these French and German views. Both sides think they can make use of a purely Continental system to serve their own ends. They cannot both be right. This conflict, however, is softened for the Governments of France and Germany—and, indeed, of Italy also—by the fact that the leaders in all three countries share the same ideology. Schuman, Adenauer and de Gasperi are all three devout Catholics; and the political parties which they lead all share the same Christian Democratic philosophy. They have come to feel, therefore, that the potential clash of interests between them may be reconciled in the higher synthesis of a united, Catholic Western Europe—the restoration of the Empire of Charlemagne. Here again, full British participation would introduce a different current of ideas. This is not

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to suggest that the Big Three on the Continent are lining up against Britain. Far from it. Their leaders, and particularly the French leaders, hope for the closest co-operation between their European system and the British Commonwealth. They want us, however, to support them as a buttress from without rather than as a pillar from within.

But large numbers of Frenchmen and, indeed, of Germans are reluctant to conclude any agreement of a federal character without Britain. To overcome this reluctance the promoters of the Schuman and Plevén Plans have built up a legend of Britain's refusal to accept their proposals. It is a way of defending themselves against the charge that they have made no effort to meet the British point of view. It is also an attempt to find a scapegoat to take the blame if their plans should fail. It was, for instance, obvious that many of the exponents of a Continental Federation came to Strasbourg determined, in advance, to be disappointed by the British attitude. They knew that great hopes had been raised by the return to power of the Conservative Party. They came prepared to make the most of any British mistakes.

In this they received powerful encouragement from another quarter. The week before the Assembly met, a representative group of American Congressmen had visited Strasbourg and held discussions with a delegation of members of the Assembly. The Congressmen had expressed themselves forcibly in favour of European Federation. They had even suggested that further American aid might well be made conditional upon its realisation. Their view received strong support a few days later, when General Eisenhower, in the course of the Rome Conference, came out strongly for European Federation and for a European Army.

Against this background, the visit of the four Ministers to Strasbourg came as the climax of a new federalist offensive. The Ministers had come primarily to secure a demonstration of support from the Assembly for the Plevén Plan. In this they were not altogether successful. The Assembly did, indeed, vote a resolution in favour of setting up a European Authority limited to the sphere of Defence. It rejected, however, a proposal recommending that the signatory Powers of the Schuman Plan Treaty should enter into negotiations with a view to achieving a limited Federation. The debate, moreover, which followed the speeches of the Ministers showed that a majority of Delegates were less inclined to Federation than were the Ministers themselves. It was this "paralysing wisdom" of the Assembly which determined M. Spaak to throw up the presidency and come down into the arena to campaign actively for a limited Federation. M. Spaak has, in the past, been tireless in his efforts to reconcile the British and Continental views. His change of front will thus have some influence with those who are still waiting for a lead from Britain. The fact, moreover, that he is a Socialist will bring a new reinforcement to the supporters of the Plevén Plan.

What will be the next stages in the movement towards European unity? The Schuman Plan will probably be ratified by all its signatories within the next few weeks. More uncertain are the prospects of the Plevén Plan. The Ministers are still not agreed among themselves, though plainly they will make every effort to find a formula before the next meeting of the N.A.T.O. at Lisbon on February 2. There are grave doubts, however, as M. Reynaud has stressed, whether the French Parliament will accept a European Army without British participation. If it does,

then the way towards a limited Continental Federation may well be opened. If it does not, there is a real danger that the moderate Governments in France and Germany may make way for manifestations of more extreme nationalism in both.

In these circumstances it will presumably be British policy to give support to the European Army plan. We cannot easily afford to let it fail. Nor can we join it ourselves in its present form. If, however, at a later date the Continental Powers should show themselves prepared to modify the plan enough to make it possible for us to join, then we may be well advised to go in as full members.

Britain can never agree to surrender control over her policy to supranational authorities of a federal type. So long, however, as European Union develops on an inter-governmental basis, there is no reason why we should

not play our part in it to the full. Our interests and Europe's will best be served by the growth around the Council of Europe of a loose European Commonwealth. All free European States will be members of it. Among them there may be some, not including Britain, who will wish to have still more formal links with one another. If so we should have no cause to object. We may thus be moving towards a partial federation of France, Germany and Italy within a broader European Community.

Such a Europe might come to form, along with the British Commonwealth and the English-speaking world, one of the "majestic circles" described by Mr. Churchill in his speech at Llandudno in 1948. "And here, in this island, at the centre of the seaways and perhaps of the airways also, we have the opportunity of joining them all together."

JULIAN AMERY.

THE PROPER ATTITUDE TOWARDS CRIME

By THE VISCOUNTESS RIDLEY, J.P.

THE number of indictable offences known to the Police in 1950 was nearly double the figure for 1938 (461,435 compared with 283,220). This fact is not unnaturally causing general concern, but it can have no meaning unless the figures are analysed from a common basis of comparison. The rise may be attributed to three principal causes. First, a greater number are being brought to the notice of the Police. Secondly, there is now a bigger concentration of people living in towns, and, thirdly, a greater moral laxity is revealing itself in a lowered respect for the law.

The importance of the first factor is difficult to assess, because although the number of cases "cleared up" in the period has decreased by 3 per cent., the number of crimes committed which were not previously brought before the courts is unknown. For instance, among children under the age of 14 (who form 23 per cent. of the total number of offenders) it is reasonable to conjecture that many now brought before the courts were previously dealt with even more summarily (by warning or chastisement) by anyone catching them in the act, or even by the Police. Whether it is a good or a bad thing

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that more delinquent children should now be brought before the courts depends upon the wisdom of Juvenile Court Magistrates, but it is the sort of factor that must be considered in any attempt to analyse the rise in the number of crimes committed.

The second factor—which implies deteriorating social conditions, such as overcrowding, broken homes or war disturbances of many kinds—is also difficult to assess, as the criminal statistics do not analyse the distribution of crime in different social or geographical circumstances. Until we can break down the figures, and see what proportion of offences are committed by people living in unsatisfactory conditions, it is impossible to know how many of them could be prevented by social measures. There is a curious lack of demand on the part of the public for factual, scientific information of this kind, and an unwarranted assumption that the increase in crime is entirely due to a decline in moral standards. That there has been such a decline must clearly be admitted, but whether it is due to a slackening of discipline in the home or the diminishing power of religious belief, is more open to debate.

We must not ignore another factor, and that is the very large increase in the number of laws there are to be broken. Many of these laws carry no moral significance and are thus inclined to be less respected by honest people from whom we should expect an example in setting the moral tone of a community. A multiplicity of rules and regulations makes probity almost impracticable; and there is always the danger that a law that is not supported by morality tends to be broken more easily, and that then all law falls into disrepute, as we saw happen in America when the rule of the gangster followed prohibition. We also saw it happen in

England under petrol rationing, when people of the utmost moral integrity lied a little and cheated just a bit, in order to evade the law. In times of national shortages in essential commodities, the growth of a black market must have a lowering effect on the general standard of morality.

In order, therefore, to get this rise in the incidence of crime into its proper perspective, we must consider to what extent it could be reduced by repealing redundant or unrespected laws (such as parking a car with lights on in a well-lighted street, or insisting on a log book being kept by self-employed drivers); secondly, by more scientific investigation of the social causes of crime; and thirdly, by overhauling and re-examining our present methods of dealing with criminals, particularly with first offenders. We must review our whole attitude to the use of punishment and, if necessary, be prepared to discard some of our most cherished illusions, if we are to effect any improvement in the present conditions.

Unfortunately, instead of this approach, there is an increasing demand for sterner measures of punishment, and an illusion that methods which are obviously proving ineffectual shall be increased—a form of reasoning which is causing concern to those who believe that any attempt to stamp out crime by more vindictive methods of punishment would do more harm than good and would be a retrograde step in the face of all that has been gained by the penal reforms of the past. These reforms are now generally accepted as just and inevitable, but they were only achieved in the teeth of opposition, particularly from the legal profession.

Over and over again, such reforms have proved to be, not only more humane, but demonstrably more successful in the protection of society. In other words, similar crimes have

actually been slightly reduced after the abolition of a particular form of punishment, such as flogging (or capital punishment in those countries which have abolished it) and not increased, as all the people who believed in such measures prognosticated.

The accusation that penal reformers are culpably lenient is as unfair as it is untrue. Penal reformers are perfectly aware of their responsibility towards society, and its need to be protected. But we are anxious that crime should be prevented, and penalties effective, and not merely that crime should be atoned for and society avenged. For example, to impose a longer prison sentence on a person convicted of cruelty to a child will do nothing to restore the injury done to that child; nor will it give any guarantee that the crime may not be repeated if opportunity occurs on release from gaol. It is far more important that such terrible offences should be prevented by better methods of supervision and earlier complaint, and at the same time more efforts made to understand the gross mental abnormality which gives rise to such extraordinary behaviour, by a change in the law which would enable such people to be segregated and studied in mental hospitals rather than prisons.

All this would be more generally accepted and admitted if it were not for the confusion in many people's minds about the deterrent effect on other people of severe and frightening punishments. This is a difficult question to decide because beliefs are held so strongly on the subject, and because there is a curious reluctance on the part of many people to shed those beliefs and keep an open mind while examining the evidence. Although there is a good deal of valuable statistical evidence available, many people fail to consult it before expressing

opinions, and if they do consult and find that it does not confirm what they believe, they avoid the issue by saying they "don't believe in statistics."

Leaving aside, then, the evidence of statistics, there are still certain principles which may be argued and even agreed upon. There is no doubt that the deterrent effect of punishment is in inverse ratio to the seriousness of the crime. That is to say, punishment may be effective in deterring intelligent, sensitive people from committing minor offences. To recognise that crime does not pay, requires a power of reasoning and an ability to foresee the consequences of a given action with far more clarity than is possessed by the more brutish criminals. Crimes of violence resulting from loss of temper and of self-control are unlikely to be prevented by fear of punishment, since the sort of people who perpetrate such crimes never stop to think.

Another point is that, if punishment is to deter, it must be certain, with the same degree of certainty and inevitability as the flame which burns; but the number of crimes "cleared up" by the Police in 1950 was only 47 per cent. of those committed. As 83 per cent. of the total number of offences were larceny, breaking in and similar offences against property, one can reckon that the burglar who carefully plans his robbery has a fifty-fifty chance of escaping detection. It appears reasonable to assume, therefore, that the certainty of punishment would be more effective than the severity of punishment; but as things are, the burglar can gamble on his chances of escape.

We must also appreciate that, if punishment is to deter, it must be publicised. The pillory and public hanging were used for this purpose:

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yet we no longer tolerate such things. Does this indicate a trend of opinion against the value of torture as a deterrent, and a realisation that such exposures in the past were found to do more harm than good by exciting a morbid and unhealthy interest in crime and criminals—an interest which may even incite some abnormally conceited people to commit a crime in order to attain the limelight?

We are nowadays entirely dependent on the press for the publicity that punishment should receive, if it is to deter. The same ill effects that accrued from public executions still prevail, in a modified way, through the preponderant emphasis on the sensational and sometimes horrible details of a crime, rather than on the exemplary punishment that followed conviction of that crime. May not such irresponsible publicity possibly promote crime rather than prevent it, in the minds of mentally unstable people? It needs to be considered whether there are any means of giving a useful and valuable publicity to the results of breaking the law, which will act as a genuine deterrent.

The confirmed belief in the value of punishment as a deterrent is so firmly held by so many people that it is difficult not to think that it is in fact a subconscious desire for revenge and retribution. This reveals itself in the idea so commonly expressed that the object of punishment is to punish and that a man must suffer some unpleasant effects as the result of doing wrong, quite apart from whether such treatment will be effective in reforming his character. But all the experience, not only of psychiatrists but of educationalists and of the great religious teachers, has demonstrated that painful, purposeless methods of punishment breed resentment, provoke a greater hostility towards authority and make a man

worse instead of better. It is only by sympathy and understanding, and never by hatred or fear, that men have been converted and reformed. "Not with blows but with charity and gentleness shall you draw men into the path of virtue."

I know that it is not easy to rid ourselves of an emotional reaction to evil, and when suffering has been inflicted, not to want to inflict suffering in return. "Revenge is sweet." But "revenge," as Bacon said, "is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out." It is certainly important that we should recognise this impulse in ourselves and try to eliminate it; because unless and until we do so it will be quite impossible for us to approach the problem of delinquency in a scientific manner, prepared to sift the evidence without prejudice or emotion. I believe this to be not only the attitude of the scientist, but also the only one that is consistent with the Christian ethic of forgiveness of sinners, "for they know not what they do."

With regard to the use of punishment as reform, this is not the place to consider the technical details of the methods available to the courts or to suggest how they might be improved. One can only assert that they need most urgently to be so considered in view of the seriousness of the problem of delinquency in modern society. For instance, what value should we place on the arbitrary and uncertain method of fining? Can we honestly say that its widespread use is proving efficacious? Surely the vindictive method of sending people to prison, not because society must be protected from them, but merely to "teach them a lesson," is an expensive and unconstructive form of punishment? All those who have been connected with prisons or prisoners stress the uselessness of the

short-term sentence, which allows no time for the prisoner to be rehabilitated or reformed, but merely increases his resentment towards authority and lessens his chances of reform. Probation, which has not only proved to be more effective but is also far more economical, is not being used to nearly such an extent as it might be. Moreover its use is on the decline, which is another fact which requires our earnest attention if we are to make any real attempt to reduce the appalling waste of money that the criminal creates in a community.

The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 has done a lot, by introducing corrective

training and preventive detention for the habitual criminal. But it has not done nearly enough, and until we can introduce some understanding of penology and psychology into legal training and the instructions given to Magistrates, so that they may at least learn their limitations in this respect, and by study and discussion try to rectify them, we shall continue to throw up our hands in horror and alarm at the publication of the criminal statistics every year. It is not heavier punishment for the crime that is required but a better understanding of the criminal.

URSULA RIDLEY.

THE U.S. AND THE VATICAN

By DENYS SMITH

AFTER the late Governor of New York Alfred Smith was defeated for the Presidency by Herbert Hoover he is said to have sent a one-word telegram to the Pope—"Unpack." This rather feeble joke calls attention to a somewhat disturbing condition. The latent antagonism in America between Protestants and Roman Catholics is a smouldering ember which can easily be fanned into flame. There were a great many people in 1928 quite convinced that the election of a Roman Catholic to the White House would place the United States under the temporal power of the Pope. The same intense prejudice has been aroused again by President Truman's decision to open regular diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

The announcement caused an immediate storm. The debate raged across the country and will confront Congress

with a controversial issue as soon as it reconvenes. The American Council of Christian Churches decided to send a pilgrimage to the capital drawn from its 3,000 member congregations to protest. But the controversy has not been confined to Church circles. There was something incongruous, if typical, in watching the regular habitués of the National Press Club bar squaring off behind their Martinis to defend the separation of Church and State or to denounce the bigotry of those who objected to the Vatican appointment. It is difficult to understand this emotional response to a policy which is being followed by some 40 other nations, and which the United States herself had followed in the days when the Pope had large temporal domains, without suffering any untoward consequences. American diplomatic relations with the Vatican were broken off after Italy had taken over the Papal

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States. They were logically resumed, though in an illogical manner, some 10 years after Mussolini had agreed to the Lateran Treaty of 1929 recognising Vatican City. On December 23, 1939, President Roosevelt designated Mr. Myron Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican, a device which avoided the necessity of confirmation by the Senate. He wished to offset the influence of the Axis Embassies at the Vatican, to reach an understanding with the Pope on the policies he intended to follow, and to give the U.S. the benefit of an ear at the most advantageous listening post then existing in Western Europe. President Truman, despite vociferous Protestant opposition, continued Mr. Taylor's appointment, but his resignation left the post vacant.

Since Mr. Roosevelt had found the Vatican a useful listening post during the war, it has been assumed that this was one of the reasons why President Truman wished to appoint an Ambassador there. The President made no mention of this, however, in making his announcement. He stated that "it would assist in co-ordinating the effort to combat Communism." Opponents of the plan argue that a man does not have to be an Ambassador in order to listen. They also declare that the Vatican is against Communism anyway and will resist it just as wholeheartedly if no Ambassador is sent—which sidesteps the question of co-ordination. In addition they complain that recognition will mean that the Vatican will be able to exert a powerful voice in American foreign policy. Supporters of the plan here turn the opposition's argument against it. The Catholic Church already has a considerable influence on American foreign policy brought to bear through Catholic Congressmen such as Senator McCarran. It has profoundly influenced

American policy, for example, towards Franco Spain. Refusal to send an Ambassador to the Vatican will not reduce Catholic influence in America. On the other hand the presence of an American Ambassador there will enable the United States to have a direct influence on Vatican policy. The case of Spain again provides an example. It has been noted here that the Pope will receive Don Juan, the Pretender to the Spanish throne, but will not negotiate a Concordat with the Franco Government. If the time should come when a change was possible in the Spanish régime, close co-ordination of American and Vatican policy, which direct representation could best assure, would obviously be desirable.

Another argument brought forward by the opponents of the President's plan is that the spirit and letter of the American Constitution requires the separation of Church and State. If the Vatican is indeed a State, then all Catholics in the United States are diluted Americans, owing partial allegiance to a foreign Power. The supporters of the plan answer that the separation of Church and State which the Constitution safeguards refers to domestic American policy, not foreign policy. It might equally be argued that there should be no diplomatic relations with the Jewish State of Israel, and that all American Jews have a dual allegiance. It would require more than ordinary confusion of mind to suppose that the re-establishment of formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican implied an endorsement of the Roman Catholic faith or an encouragement of its temporal ambitions. America was not so much recognising the Catholic Church or the Pope as the fact that the Vatican was a significant force in world affairs. Finally there is the argument, perhaps more impressive than any other, which ignores the

respective merits of the case and asserts simply that since prejudice exists nothing should be done which divides and confuses the nation at the moment when its need for unity is greatest. This is countered by the contention that when any President flinches from a decision which he believes to be right, because it might enrage a section of the public, he might as well resign from the Presidency.

The obverse of the argument that establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican stirs controversy, and is therefore unjustified, is that it is clever partisan politics and is therefore justified. President Truman, it has been suggested, knows that the almost solid South (where Protestantism is strongest) will almost solidly desert him if he runs for the Presidency in November. He must, therefore, consolidate his hold over the big northern industrial areas (where Catholicism is strongest) and rely on the big city machines which in 1948 carried so many northern States into the Democratic fold. The influence of the Democratic city machines over the voter, particularly the Catholic voter, has been weakened by accusations that the Administration was too kind to Communists, and even more by accusations of corruption. Opening diplomatic relations with the Vatican was good party strategy, since it would help dispel the moral cloud which was hanging over the Administration and at the same time embarrass the Republicans, who would be bound to offend a powerful section of the Republican Party whatever line they adopted.

But if the plan was good political strategy the President ruined it by poor political tactics. Many of those who approved the idea of a diplomatic representative at the Vatican dis-

approve of the President's choice for that post of a military man, General Mark Clark, who has insisted that he will only accept if Congress permits him to remain on the active list. Moreover, had the President shown a little more attention to detail, he would have realised that General Clark was the one man for whom it would be almost impossible to obtain the Senate's confirmation. General Clark, while in command in Italy, ordered the disastrous attack by a Texas division at the Rapido River, which led to great loss of life. Clark was carrying out orders from his superiors designed to relieve pressure elsewhere, but in Texas his name is anathema. It so happens that Senator Connally, of Texas, is Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is up for re-election, is in none too firm a political position, and for him to support the President's nomination of General Clark for any post would be political suicide. Some rival candidate in the Texas Democratic primary could make use of it to bring about his defeat. The Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee is in a position to prevent the question of Clark's appointment ever reaching the floor of the Senate.

Thus the basic question of whether or not the presence of an American Ambassador at the Vatican was a good thing in itself, and would further the containment of Communism and the survival of the free world, has become entangled with emotional prejudice and political manoeuvring. Even if some other ambassador than General Clark is appointed, the beneficial effect of the move has been weakened by the manner in which it was made.

DENYS SMITH.

THE FUTURE OF THE LICENSED HOUSE

By THE HON. PETER REMNANT, M.P.

I DISLIKE the drab terminology as much as any reader does. "Licensed house": it is almost as inhuman as the latest specimen of officialese, the "economic drinking unit." "Pub" is popular and certainly unpretentious, but like "local" it is not comprehensive. "Inn" has legal implications which do not concern the pub so styled before this slang term came to be applied indiscriminately to the Blue Cow and the Hotel Gorgeosa. A tavern is not an inn, if we pay any regard to the old usage of these terms; even "licensed house" is not all-embracing and the larger hotel would emphatically claim to be excluded. But it is more nearly accurate and more comprehensive than any other term.

Any student of the history of the licensed house will be strongly impressed by what I might describe as its fissiparous quality. Its offshoots include the social club, the tea shop, the restaurant, some learned societies, some charitable organisations, sports and games, the theatre and the concert hall and, if we go back far enough, the church *fête* and the parish council. We cannot therefore speculate about the future of the licensed house without admitting that it may at any time cast on the national scene some fresh blossom—comparable with the thrift club, if not with the British Association or the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion! We have to distinguish between parent and progeny, between, for example, the essential "pub" and, say, the piano with its surrounding vocalists who may eventually move

elsewhere, between the bar and the embryonic National Bat and Trap League with headquarters in the West End and an ardent buying and selling of batters and trappers.

Fortunately, the chief characteristics of the ale- or beer-house (as the pub proper was once correctly styled), and of the inn and the tavern at their best, remain resolutely unchanged. These characteristics can, I think, best be summarised as the provision of beer, attractive and comfortable premises with a human and hospitable atmosphere, a satisfactory standard of service and amenities, and good sleeping accommodation in inns—all under the ever-popular figure of mine host and his wife. Manners maketh man, and it is equally true to say that the man (and the woman) maketh the house.

The future of beer drinking in licensed houses has recently been under scrutiny by certain economists, who as a result have decided that beer is slowly but surely losing ground as the national beverage. They point to the long-term decline in beer consumption as proof of the waning popularity of the pub. Beer output in England, Scotland and Wales has in fact fallen from 34,435,817 bulk barrels in 1900 to 26,513,997 in 1950 and consumption *per capita per annum* has fallen from 32.29 bulk gallons to 19.3 in the same period. Strength, too, has declined. It is conjectured that other attractions rivalling an evening in the pub may in future be added to the cinema, dog racing, wireless and television.

In my view, these economists take too

little account of the effect of taxation on beer. During the past fifty years, the duty has risen from 0·28*d.* to 13·37*d.* per pint of standard barrel strength. Fifty years ago, duty represented less than one-twelfth of the price to the consumer : to-day it represents more than two-thirds. If the duty represented no more than half or two-fifths of the price, as it did in 1939, and if the price in the public bar could in consequence be reduced to 10*d.* or 11*d.* a pint, I should be surprised if consumption did not rise.

If we look abroad, to countries where the standard of life, private and social, has risen, we find that beer has grown and not dwindled in popularity. In the U.S.A., it has grown at a remarkable rate. Output has risen from 38,000,000 bulk barrels *per annum* in 1939 to about 64,000,000 barrels. In spite of the fall of output in war-stricken, tax-burdened countries of Western Europe, the world total has risen from approximately 142,000,000 barrels in 1939 to 160,000,000.

There can be little doubt that taxation is the largest single factor in determining the post-war decline in beer-drinking in this country. In the near future at least the popularity of beer, and to a lesser extent of the licensed house, must be strongly influenced by the beer duty.

For a pleasant, home-like atmosphere, the licensed house must have an efficient and industrious landlord, with the will and ability to please. The retailer is not only a shopkeeper ; he is host, friend, guide and "guv'nor" as well. Before obtaining the transfer of the licence, he has to pass a much closer scrutiny as to his credentials by the police and others than, say, a Member of Parliament does before standing as a candidate.

In some districts, with inns of certain types and at particular times, houses

are best run "under management"—that is, by managers employed by a brewing firm or by a catering firm renting houses from a brewer : but if the typical licensed house is to preserve its individual and welcoming atmosphere, it must continue to be run under the tenanted house system, if only for the reason that this is the best practical means whereby the landlord can in fact remain master in his own house and impress his personality upon it.

The return of the "free" house, as that institution exists in popular imagination, is a dream. The return of the free house as it once existed would certainly not be an advantage. The public tend to think of the free house in terms of the coaching inns of the 18th and early 19th centuries. These inns gained and deserved high praise, but they were the counterpart not of the pub of to-day but of the large hotel. Conditions in the alehouses at that time varied enormously, as remarks by travellers tell us ; and some were deplorable places, mere haunts of criminals. On the other hand, as early as 1817 a Police Commission reported that half the pubs in the metropolis were held by brewers, who were able to show that their houses were better constructed and better conducted than the others.

Paradoxically enough, the "tenanted" house system has done more to preserve than to reduce the freedom of choice of beers, except in the small village where one or both houses are owned by the same brewer, for it has enabled the small local brewery to continue functioning locally with the assured output from its own houses. There is another trend which I think deserves encouragement and that is the interchange of beers or the selling of another brewer's beer. For a long time the large majority of houses have been selling

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two "national" beers in bottle, but the increasing ease of travel and the desire of British people to see other parts of our island have led to a demand for a certain beer in areas other than those in which it is normally supplied. This demand is having its effect and to an ever-increasing extent brewers are arranging, with the ready co-operation of the retailers, to satisfy this call. This is all to the good as it combines greater freedom of choice for the customer with a high standard of house under the tenant system and the opportunity for the right man to take over a house with less capital than would be needed in nearly every other business.

The return of the "free" house is impossible, as well as undesirable, because a retailer rarely has the £25,000 necessary to buy a licensed house of average size, or to rebuild an out-of-date one. If he had, he would hesitate to put all his eggs into one basket. He would probably spread his risk, as many retailers do, by investing his capital in the brewing firm from which he rents his house. Many retailers to-day have shares in their brewers' undertakings, so we already have a form of co-partnership between brewer and retailer as well as the form of partnership that exists from the tenancy.

In its licensed properties, the trade has its finest asset. Many are old inns, picturesque and possessing great charm—adornments to many a village and town. In places they have survived where other treasures of past architecture and craftsmanship have vanished. They have survived in general only because the brewing industry acquired and restored them. The industry took over large numbers during the lean years of the trade at the beginning of this century—when many of the pubs were a liability and helped to account for the unhappy appearance of brewing firms' balance sheets. They

account in particular for the inability of some brewers to pay a single penny on ordinary shares during several years and for the subsequent writing down of capital. Without this intervention by the brewing industry, few of the old inns would have survived. The innkeepers could not keep them up to an acceptable standard. The inns would have come under suspicion of redundancy and might have been delicensed, as so many were. Very few inns that lost their licences fell into careful hands; practically all were torn down.

The industry takes a justifiable pride in the additions it made between the Wars to this national heritage. The "improved pubs" are invariably well built, displaying a standard of craftsmanship now almost forgotten, and they are often magnificently equipped and furnished. They have been criticised as having bleak and bare interiors, but I suspect that the criticism is generally inspired by a study of photographs of the bars when empty. The plushy nooks, the fretted partitionings, the excessive ornamentation of the 19th century, in which some theorists now find so much to admire, would simply not be in accord with present-day ideas. Pubs are now sometimes the scene of art exhibitions and of the production of Shakespearean plays by the Taverners and the like. The welcome given to these is most gratifying and they will undoubtedly develop to meet the wishes of the ever-widening circles from which the pub draws its customers.

As to the improvement of the standard of amenities and service, the main impetus must continue to come from the brewing industry as it has in the past. I have in mind the progress in equipment, furnishing and in the supply of meals and snacks. Brewing firms have experts in cellar management,

catering and kindred matters to advise and encourage retailers.

Hygiene is very much a matter personal to the retailer and his staff, but brewers can and usually do aim at providing the best practical equipment. They can help, too, in educating retailers and their staffs; and this is being done with the aid of films, lectures and courses with local authority co-operation. Sanitation in pubs has drawn forth some severe attacks recently—with some reason I confess—but the brewer to-day finds himself in great difficulty, since for twelve years he has been unable to make any real progress for want of labour, materials and permits, while the retailer, too, has his troubles. Unlike similar offices in any other retail establishments, the "pub" convenience often has to serve as a public convenience. Brewing firms have programmes of improvement worked out to the last detail on paper and costing in total £1,500,000 at a rough estimate: but the prospects of getting official approval of a hundredth part of this programme are very remote. Licensing justices continue to press for improvements which brewers would gladly

have made years ago if materials and labour had been available, but licences for the work are refused. In my opinion, it is high time that all concerned realised the cold realities of the situation—that as yet the labour and materials simply are not there for the jobs to be done.

Much of what I have said on the inn's future is conjecture. I should be the last to claim to be able to predict its future with any certainty. The prosperity or otherwise of the licensed house is tied up so closely with the fortunes of the community; its atmosphere is affected so nearly by the character of those who use it, by the opinions of licensing benches and police and perhaps most of all by the tenant himself. It is not altogether because I am a brewer, however, that I feel that the real driving force towards improvement can only come from the brewing industry, as it has for so many years past, and that if the chair in the tavern is to retain or regain its status as Dr. Johnson's "throne of human felicity," it will do so only by the efforts of the wholesale and retail licensed trade working together.

PETER REMNANT.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

(An editorial note on this new feature will be found in "Episodes of the Month" on page 14.)

THE January 1902 number of *The National Review* began with an Episode entitled "The German Menace," which was closely followed by another relating to alien designs on the Persian Gulf. Germany was then regarded as the chief potential enemy, and Russia as a potential ally—however untrustworthy. To-day their respective rôles are in some respects transposed.

The first article was by an anonymous Russian Diplomatist, was on the subject of "Russia and England," and was commended by the Editor (Mr. Leo Maxse) in the following terms:

It is mainly an analysis of the old historical relations between Russia and England . . . and those who have an historical sense will read with peculiar interest and pleasure our eminent con-

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tributor's retrospect of Anglo-Russian relations prior to the Crimean War, when, according to Lord Salisbury, "we put our money on the wrong horse." There can be no doubt but that this conflict, and especially the inept manner in which we drifted into it, had a deplorable effect on the relations between the two countries . . . it should not be beyond the resources of British diplomacy, if the desire for a better understanding between England and Russia which is undoubtedly felt in London is reciprocated in St. Petersburg, to restore the relations between the two countries. . . . It is recognised in this country that the Persian question is the main difficulty outstanding between the two Powers, and we have no desire to prejudice the position by making comments based on imperfect data. We will content ourselves with observing that as the Russians are prepared to put their cards on the table, it would be ridiculous that the old-time epithets of craft, duplicity and fraud should be imported into this controversy. It is something to know exactly what the other side wants, and we trust that the British counterclaim will be stated with equal candour. Let us, above all, avoid what is known as a home-made humiliation, i.e., a brave declaration followed by an ignominious scuttle.

Communism has, alas, greatly complicated and aggravated the traditional problem of Russia; and the United States has, since 1902, emerged from its isolation into a position of immense responsibility and influence in the world. Nevertheless, there are, in the passage just quoted, themes and phrases which do not appear to have lost their relevance.

And there is a topical flavour in the last Episode, "An Imperial Event"—except that for "Imperial" we should now probably read "Commonwealth." The Prince and Princess of Wales (later King George V and Queen Mary) had just returned from an Empire tour and

had been acclaimed much as Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh were lately acclaimed on their return from Canada.

The first public appearance of the new Prince of Wales was a splendid success. Indeed, the speech which His Royal Highness delivered at the Mansion House on December 5, when, with the Princess of Wales, he was officially welcomed home by the City of London, was *the* Imperial event of the past month. The great enthusiasm of the London crowds, the splendour of the Lord Mayor's hospitality, the admirable speeches of such eloquent Englishmen as Lord Rosebery, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Salisbury, were all eclipsed by the notable and indeed noble utterance of the Prince of Wales.

The Prince's speech was reproduced in full at the end of the issue, and we cannot resist quoting a few extracts from it here :

. . . . Australia saw the consummation of the great mission which was the more immediate object of our journey, and you can imagine the feelings of pride with which I presided over the inauguration of the first representative Assembly of the new-born Australian Commonwealth, in whose hands are placed the destinies of that great island continent. . . . New Zealand afforded us a striking example of a vigorous, independent, and prosperous people . . . where many interesting social experiments are being put to the test of experience. . . . To Canada was borne the message already conveyed to Australia and New Zealand—of the Motherland's loving appreciation of the services rendered [in South Africa] by her gallant sons. In a journey from ocean to ocean, marvellous in its comfort and organisation, we were able to see something of its matchless scenery, the richness of its soil, the boundless possibilities of that vast and but partly explored territory. We saw, too, the success which has crowned the efforts

to weld into one community the peoples of its two great races. . . .

No-one who had the privilege of enjoying the experiences that we have had during our tour could fail to be struck with one all-prevailing and pressing demand—the want of population. Even in the oldest of our Colonies there were abundant signs of this need: boundless tracts of country yet unexplored, hidden mineral wealth calling for development, vast expanses of virgin soil ready to yield profitable crops to the settlers. And these can be enjoyed under conditions of healthy living, liberal laws, free institutions, in exchange for the overcrowded cities and the almost hopeless struggle for existence which, alas, too often is the lot of many in the old country. But one condition, and one only, is made by our colonial brethren, and that is, “Send us suitable emigrants.” I would go further, and appeal to my fellow-countrymen at home to prove the strength of the attachment of the Motherland to her children by sending to them only of her best.

These words are still full of point, in spite of the great development of Commonwealth countries during the last half-century.

“Some Recent Impressions of Eton”—an article by Lord Turnour—is not meant to be frivolous; indeed it is written in a style which would be appropriate to a much more serious subject. It begins with a grandiloquent flourish :

In the following pages I endeavour to give some impressions that nearly five years' residence at Eton, and an intimate acquaintance with its systems and institutions, have left on my mind.

And it proceeds in the same vein: here is another excerpt :

Everybody knows, or ought to know, that “Wet-bobbing” and “Dry-bobbing,” otherwise acuquatics [*sic*] and cricket, divide the attention of Etonians

during the summer “Half,” that football is played during the Michaelmas “Half,” that from January to Easter one may play fives, or run with the Eton College hounds (usually known as the “Beagles”), or indulge in athletics, in which latter pursuit success is crowned by the possession of numberless pewters and challenge cups. . . . Bathing is permitted during most of the summer and a small part of the Michaelmas school-term; and with three bathing-places few Etonians there are who do not, at least occasionally, go to Athens, Cuckoo Weir, or Boveney. Such minor pursuits as stump cricket, passage football . . . and ping-pong, sometimes serve to wile [*sic*] away the tedium of an odd half-hour. With such a formidable list of pursuits before him he would be a bold man who would deny that modern Etonians are well provided for in the matter of recreation. Indeed, much has been done in this direction during the last few years. Among modern improvements may be mentioned the purchase of the magnificent expanse of grass, known as Agar's Plough and Dutchman's Farm . . . the acquisition of Queen's Eyot, on which a club house is to be built . . . and further the erection of suitable kennel accommodation for the beagles. . . .

But the picture is not entirely favourable. The accommodation in Boys' Houses comes in for heavy criticism:

By far the majority of Eton rooms . . . are very small, badly ventilated, and with a poor look-out on to some court; the walls are very thin indeed, allowing one to hear all one's neighbour's remarks, and the rooms themselves, crowded into a small space, open on to a narrow low passage. They are generally well furnished, and, when their owners enjoy good health, are comfortable enough; to be ill in them, on the contrary, is to experience their inconvenience, and to realise the overcrowded state in which Etonians live, eat, sleep, and occasionally die. Many mothers (and fathers, too) who have had boys at

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Eton, who have been ill there, have expressed great indignation at the shameful neglect of the Governing Body to remedy this state of affairs, and at last an influential committee of ladies (all of whom have had sons or brothers at Eton) are about to approach the proper authorities, and to urge them to remove what is a grave stain on the record of the best of all schools.

Though a sanatorium has since been built—thanks, perhaps, to this article, or to the “influential committee of

ladies”—Eton is still, in general, recognisably the same. But how many readers will have instantly recognised in Lord Turnour, author of the article, the well-known and well-loved Lord Winterton, who until just recently was Father of the House of Commons? That is one interesting question, and another is this:—How prompt will Lord Winterton be to recognise his own early work, when confronted with one of the passages we have quoted? Answers may or may not be forthcoming.

THE FUTURE OF MUNICIPAL COMPOSTING

By LADY EVE BALFOUR

WE hear a great deal to-day, and with reason, about the problem of feeding the world's increasing population from a decreasing area of cultivable land, but no very large-scale effort is being made anywhere to deal with it. Even the thinking being done about it seems to be mainly on the possibility of opening up new territory. But even assuming that this is done efficiently, with due consideration to soil conservation (unlike the ground-nut scheme), opening up new territory will have little effect on the essential problem if, at the same time, large areas of the existing cultivated land of the world continues to decline in fertility and crop yields, or to yield crops of ever lower nutritional value.

This aspect of the problem was forcibly brought home to me during my tour in the United States earlier this year. In the great corn belt of the Middle West, the “improved” hybrid strains of corn, introduced to combat

falling yields on depleted soil, have only succeeded in bringing yields back to the level obtained from native strains at the end of the last century. And the protein content of the present grain is very much lower. In other places soil depletion has advanced so far that while all the crops supposedly needed for health can still be grown, the nutritive value of those crops themselves has so far declined, that serious malnutrition is suffered by the people and the animals that feed on them.

This tendency for the soil to “run out” over millions of square miles of the main primary producing countries is, of course, due to the vast leak which modern civilised Man has caused in the organic cycle. When life, in the form of crops and animals, is continually removed from the soil, something more than dead chemicals must be returned to it, if fertility, and even stability, is to be maintained. This is now widely recognised by the experts in nearly every country but our own. Dr.

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Firman E. Bear of Rutgers University is considered everywhere in the States to be America's top soil scientist. He is a firm advocate of the use of fertilisers, yet in an article, printed in the April, 1951, issue of the *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation*, he writes:—

Fertilizers alone, no matter how heavy the rate of application, will not meet the requirements for soils that are producing cultivated crops. Soil must be fed organic matter in larger amounts than the roots and residues of such crops can provide. This requires manure and well-chosen mixtures of sod and cover crops. If, in addition, we can develop means of producing supplemental compost from city refuse, or by any other means, so much the better. In my opinion, we should lend assistance to efforts that are designed to avoid waste of organic materials. It might well pay to subsidize the processing of such organic wastes as can be made available for use on intensively cropped land.

Elsewhere, in the same article, this passage occurs:—

These data point in the direction of the need not only for more organic matter but a variety of kinds of it. . . . Many weeds make highly important contributions in mobilizing minor elements in the soil. Ragweed and lamb's quarter, for example, are excellent accumulators of zinc. It is conceivable that they might be deliberately grown for the purpose of mobilizing this element.

And another passage reads:—

Instead of looking with a jaundiced eye at the efforts of the organic-farming enthusiasts to develop organic matter supplies for use on the soil, the fertilizer industry would do well to interest itself in this problem. There is need for study of the possibilities for recovery of city wastes.

What a refreshing contrast to the official attitude here, where the virtues of a compost are still valued solely in

terms of its chemical composition! Only quite recently, a project for municipal composting in one of our County Boroughs came to nothing because the Ministry of Agriculture said the product was of little value, though it might surely be better than nothing in time of war, when fertilisers are difficult to get. In face of such official discouragement for the conservation of organic wastes, the enterprising authorities who have established successful pilot plants for municipal composting are all the more worthy of praise.

Oddly enough, in America, such plants are, as yet, as few and far between as they are in this country. But by way of encouragement to municipal authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, and to show what a tremendous future lies before this field of activity, and what a big part it could play in restoring fertility to the hungry soils of the world, here is an account of one such pioneer plant I visited while in the States:—

It is run by a company called The Compost Corporation of America, and is engaged in converting city garbage into compost at Oakland in California. The finished product is dehydrated and sold in bags, in a state fine enough to be spread by any normal fertiliser distributor. At present only 25 per cent. of the garbage of this one city is being handled at this plant, yet the output of finished fertiliser amounts to 100 tons per day.

Very briefly the procedure is as follows:—

The garbage, as it arrives at the plant, is tipped on to a travelling belt, where undesirable or saleable materials are removed from it—tins and excess paper mechanically, and rags, bottles, crockery, etc., by hand. The belt tips the remainder into trucks which take it to a crushing plant. Here it is mixed with pig manure (it could be ordinary sewage) and cannery waste when in season. It is also watered, if necessary,

THE FUTURE OF MUNICIPAL COMPOSTING

and sprayed with a culture of bacteria and plant hormones from a formula supplied by Dr. E. Pfeiffer. The crushing and mixing plant also delivers into trucks, which tip the material on to long, fairly narrow, compost piles in an open space used as the fermentation yard. The raw materials at this stage are not very finely crushed, but the intense fer-

mentation which soon sets in breaks them down, so that the finished product after dehydrating, *and with no further crushing or grinding*, passes through a screen with one-eighth of an inch mesh-holes.

Here are some of the operating figures:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Population capacity of the plant | 100,000. |
| Capital cost of the plant (according to whether a separated collection exists or not) | \$50,000—\$80,000. |
| Total area including fermenting yards (but this could handle more, or provide storage space for cold weather) | 1-2 acres. |
| Present capacity of the crusher | 15 tons per hour. |
| (Present through-put up to 200 tons per day.) | |
| Time taken from tipping raw material on to belt to arrival at crusher | 6 minutes. |
| Time taken from arrival at crusher to final tipping on to fermentation heap | 5 minutes. |
| Quantity of activating culture | 1 oz. dissolved in 2 gals. of water per ton of compost. |
| The mixture ranges (according to quality of garbage) | |
| From | 60% garbage, 20% earth, 20% manure. |
| To | 75% garbage — 25% manure. |
| And has been successful with | 95% garbage — 5% manure. |
| Average period of fermentation in North Californian climate | 14 days. |
| (Ten days aerobic, thermophilic fermentation, followed by cooling down period.) | |
| Period of fermentation in very wet periods | Up to 21 days. |
| Loss of moisture during fermentation | 45%—60%. |
| Loss of moisture after dehydration | 14%—20%. |
| Analysis of final product (this is for winter garbage; in summer it is higher) | From 1%—2% nitrogen, 2% phosphorus, 1% potassium. |
| Bacterial count of activator | 50-60 billion per gm. |
| Bacterial count of compost after fermentation | 20-40 billion per gm. |
| Bacterial count of compost (spores) after dehydration | 1-10 billion per gm. |
| Note.—At Oakland 90 per cent. of the garbage is recovered in the final compost. | |
| Sale price of finished product, with guaranteed N.P.K. analysis of 4-2-1 | \$45 per ton. |
| Sale price of finished product, without guarantee | \$35 per ton. |
| Net profit | Up to 25%. |

E. B. BALFOUR.

CORRESPONDENCE

From Captain H. C. B. Pipon, R.N.,
Milford House Hotel, Godalming.

November 12th, 1951.

SIR,

I read Mr. John Smith's admirable article, "A Journey from Russia," with great interest.

I agree with nearly all of it, but there was one point on which I feel bound to disagree with him. He says (near the bottom of column one, p. 283):—"No arms race in history has had any other conclusion" (than war).

Surely reflection shows that an arms race will *never* lead to war so long as the non-aggressors keep up with the would-be aggressor. No doubt Mr. Smith had the wars of 1914 and 1939 in mind: but neither of them was caused by an arms race. On the contrary, both were caused by the failure of the non-aggressors to keep their place in the race.

In the years before 1914 we took no part whatever in the race for land forces: we did not increase our Army by a single unit. If we had played our proper part in the race and had increased our Army until the French and British Armies together were as strong as the German Army, there would have been no war, because Germany would never have acquired the superiority which was *absolutely necessary* to her before she could embark upon her projected war of conquest.

Similarly, in the years before 1939, war, came because we began to race too late and ran too slowly. Hitler began re-arming Germany early in 1933; we did not begin our rearmament until March, 1936, and then took months to get going. By September, 1938 (Munich) Germany had been rearming at full pressure for five and a half years—her production was probably comparable to ours in 1943—whereas we had been at it for only just over two years; our production can hardly have been well started. If we had joined in the race in 1933—or even 1934—Hitler could never have acquired the essential superiority and the war could never have happened.

I feel bound to protest on this point because it seems absolutely vital. The disarmamentists in the 1930's always made a great point of "the danger of an arms race." If we had not listened to them, peace would have prevailed. Mr. Smith showed himself to be perfectly sound on the need for our rearmament, but came near to spoiling that by thoughtlessly quoting a catchword which was used between the wars with deadly effect by the enemies in our midst and their attendant nincompoops.

Yours faithfully,

H. C. B. PIPON.

N.B.—We were unfortunately prevented by lack of space from including Captain Pipon's letter in our December number.

Editor.

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

ROY CAMPBELL AND SOME OTHERS*

By ERIC GILLET

ROY CAMPBELL is one of the most remarkable personalities of our time. A South African by birth, the most important poet produced by the British Commonwealth of Nations outside Great Britain, Mr. Campbell has led a life so full and varied that it demanded to be set down in an autobiography. *Light on a Dark Horse* is the result, a violent, prejudiced, lively, colourful, and amusing book. It bubbles with the author's zest. He wrote it, he says, "to repay my debt both to Almighty God and to my parents, for letting me loose in such a world, to plunder its miraculous literatures, and languages, and wines: to savour its sights, forms, colours, perfumes, and sounds: to see so many superb cities, oceans, lakes, forests, rivers, sierras, pampas, and plains, with their beasts, birds, trees, crops, and flowers—and above all their men and women, who are by far the most interesting of all."

This book has the drive and pugnacity of the works of Belloc and Chesterton at their best. It is casual and vehement, provocative and careless. The author depicts himself as a man of action, and always a fighter. His methods are often original and peculiar, as when he hung his wife out of a fourth-floor window so that she should "get some respect for men." The police, from the headquarters on the other side of Beak

Street, yelled to Campbell to get her back. He reassured them by calling that they were only practising their act. Thirty years of happy married life have followed this episode. It seems that it has never been repeated.

Hunting in Rhodesia, fishing for sharks and fighting with octopuses, whaling, horse-breaking and bull-fighting, life and work with gypsies on the Camargue, life in Soho and Bloomsbury, and in Spain just before the Civil War, provide a wealth of contrast and variety. Mr. Campbell is a deeply religious man, sensitive, generous-hearted, and full of simple and sometimes disconcerting fun. His opinions can be wild and whirling. They are always honest. He was one of the first to recognise the merits of Mr. T. S. Eliot's poetry, and he believes that its influence will increase in time to come. I do not agree, but

* *Light on a Dark Horse*. By Roy Campbell. Hollis & Carter. 18s.

Poetry and Drama. By T. S. Eliot. Faber & Faber. 7s. 6d.

A Window on a Hill. By Richard Church. Hale. 15s.

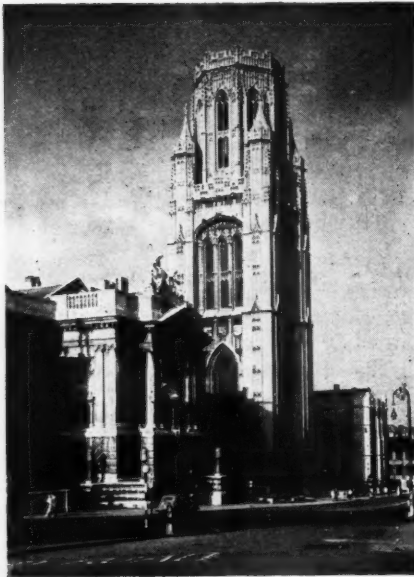
Classics and Commercials. By Edmund Wilson. W. H. Allen. 15s.

Wilkie Collins. By Kenneth Robinson. The Bodley Head. 18s.

New Letters of Robert Browning. Edited by William Clyde DeVane and Kenneth Leslie Knickerbocker. Murray. 30s.

Bristol. By Tudor Edwards. Batsford. 9s. 6d.

Plato's The Symposium. A New Translation by W. Hamilton. Penguin Classics. 2s.



BRISTOL UNIVERSITY TOWER WITH A WING OF THE ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM IN THE FOREGROUND.

I have read with admiration and respect Mr. Eliot's admirable Theodore Spencer Memorial Lecture, given at Harvard in 1950. This has just appeared as *Poetry and Drama*, and in it the writer considers the problems of poetic drama and the conditions which it must fulfil and the more general reasons for wanting to see it restored to its place. There are some most illuminating references to Shakespeare here. The second part of the lecture is a very revealing piece of self-criticism. I do not think that I have ever read anything more modest and detached than Mr. Eliot's account of his progress in the theatre. The resounding success of *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Cocktail Party* have had no effect whatever upon the poet's intention, except to spur him on to lay bare the shortcomings of the work he has already done. He is particularly severe in his strictures on *The Family Reunion*. This piece was

received with indiscriminate applause, and Mr. Eliot will have none of it. At the end of the lecture he sets down in outline the ideal towards which, in his opinion, poetic drama should strive. He confesses that it is unattainable. This would be a design of human action and of words, such as to present at once the two aspects of dramatic and of musical order. *Poetry and Drama* cannot fail to be of interest to anyone who cares for the theatre. Mr. Eliot is to be congratulated on a really memorable lecture.

Another poet, Mr. Richard Church, takes a busman's holiday in *A Window on a Hill*. These occasional papers read like good table talk. Sitting in his workroom, perched up in the top of a high kiln, the upper half of what was formerly an oast house, Mr. Church moves easily from blue-tits to daffodils, from spile-making to cherry-picking, from window cleaning to Theocritus. And I am grateful to Mr. Church for bringing to my notice the delightful place-name of Stone-cum-Ebony.

The critical reputation of Mr. Edmund Wilson is considerable over here as in his native United States. *Classics and Commercials*, described as "A Literary Chronicle of the Forties," is made up of contributions made by the author to American periodicals. Mr. Wilson is a lively, independent critic and although he is not markedly friendly to this country, we could do with a few critics of his calibre. "Ches-terton and Belloc," he finds, "seem to-day merely literary journalists advertising their barbarous prejudices with the rattle of a coarse verbal cleverness. Their prose is unreadable now." Fortunately he can do very much better than that slapdash and sweeping condemnation. His *Analysis of Max Beerbohm* is full of good things. It shows, also, how difficult it is for a

ROY CAMPBELL AND SOME OTHERS

foreigner to appreciate *Zuleika Dobson*. There is an anecdote about the author, which is new to me. One of the younger English authors had shown Sir Max a copy of James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*. He cautiously examined this "outlandish production." "I don't think," he said, "he'll be knighted for that." Max himself *had* just been knighted. Among other perceptive essays, one, *A Dissenting Opinion on Kafka* shows Mr. Wilson at his best. He is a critic who should not be ignored.

When so many writers find a number of biographers it seems odd that Wilkie Collins escaped this attention until Mr. Kenneth Robinson published, last November, *Wilkie Collins: A Biography*. It is a competent, well-documented book. The elder son of an R.A., Collins was an apprentice in the tea trade and then a barrister before he decided to earn his money as a writer. When he died at the age of 65, he had written more than 30 books and a dozen plays. In his middle-twenties Collins met Charles Dickens. They soon became tremendous friends. Dickens employed Collins on the staff of *Household Words*. They had similar tastes. They acted and travelled together. Mr. Bernard Darwin once remarked that both men excelled in creating "atmosphere." They were both first-rate story-tellers. "Everyone writes novels nowadays," Collins remarked once, "but nobody tells stories." That saying might be displayed with great advantage over the mantelpieces of many novelists to-day.

Mr. Robinson estimates Collins' talents with great fairness, and he is right to claim for him one surpassing merit—the ability to tell an absorbing story in such a way as to extract from it the last ounce of mystery and suspense and excitement. This biography is sensible and sound. Perhaps it may attract readers to *No Name* and



RICHARD CHURCH REGARDING PUFF-BALLS.

Armada who have only read *The Moonstone* and *The Woman in White*.

Another famous Victorian, Robert Browning, is represented by *New Letters*, which have been edited with elaborate critical apparatus by two American scholars. I think it is time to make a protest against the increasing custom of digging up every scribbled scrap and casual note penned by some eminent person and then putting them out in an expensive volume. Browning was not, except in moments of great stress and emotion, one of the supreme letter writers. His letters, at the time of his wife's death, will always be included in any representative collection of the English letter writers. As his present editors say, he usually wrote his letters to accomplish a particular purpose, and most of them, like some of his poetry, were dashed down on paper as fast as his busy mind

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could work. In fact, he was, first of all, a utilitarian correspondent. It would have been a good thing if Messrs. DeVane and Knickerbocker had used more humour and discretion in making their selection. There is no reason to preserve such a gem as

Dear Mrs. Bayne,

I should be delighted to dine with you on the 5th but have been long engaged for that day. How good you are to remember me!

Ever yours truly,
Robert Browning.

The notes are prodigious. I shuddered at the amount of plodding research that must have been done by the persevering editors. It is curious that so many German and American students of literature have shown a marked lack of proportion when they tackle their subjects. After all, footnotes and introductions are intended only to make a text easier and more readable. An editor who interposes a barrage of critical and explanatory matter between the reader and his target lays himself open to criticism. Browning would have been better served by a strictly selective edition of his letters, and if Messrs. DeVane and Knickerbocker were to get down to the job, strip the text—and their notes—to the bone, and print only what has the merit of interest or literary value, they would be lending their conscientious abilities in a good cause. I wonder, though, if they could ever find it in their hearts to be ruthless enough.

So much attention has been paid by authors of many generations to Bath that Bristol, although lying only a few miles away and at one time a popular spa, must have escaped notice with difficulty. I have always thought it one of the most pleasant and varied English cities. Fine architecture,

docks, commerce, and the Regency terraces of Clifton, are set in a gracious countryside. Mr. Tudor Edwards has written a concise little book—only 92 pages, well illustrated with a map. He must have been hard put to it to get all that he wanted to say in so small a compass, and I think he has accomplished a difficult task with great tact. The illustrations are well chosen and beautifully reproduced. He manages the sense of the place well, too:

The portrait of a city should have its minor tones, and it would be incomplete if it failed to notice these details which are the essence of Bristol—the old and deserted gardens odorous with jasmine, vines and fig-trees, the daffodils and Alpine gardens about the memorial to the Cabots on Brandon Hill, the coffee-houses of the city merchants, the black nights pierced by the twinkling lights of banana-boats furtively furrowing their way into Avonmouth, the grain silos and bonded warehouses rearing their balanced masses above jetties and wharves laden with cargoes, and the bustling Tramway Centre with its finger-tips on the pulses of the sea.

Was it pride, I wonder, or a desire to forget, that caused him to omit all mention of Bristol's scars from that paragraph? He alludes to them elsewhere, it is true, but to me they are an integral part of any general impression of the city. This is a very small criticism of an excellent little book.

There is another worthy addition to the Penguin Classics. Plato's *Symposium* appears in a new translation with an admirable introduction by W. Hamilton. This version is colloquial and easy to read. The print and lay-out are all that they should be. The notes are to be commended for their strict economy. I hope that Messrs. DeVane and Knickerbocker will read them.

ERIC GILLET.

THE SAINT IN POLITICS*

By A. L. ROWSE

NO one doubts that George Lansbury was a truly good man, possibly even that rarity—a saint in politics. But it is precisely that character that poses such a difficult problem in human affairs, public as opposed to private. On the private and personal side such people often, though not always, do a great deal of good; on the public side, they sometimes do as much harm as good. In modern society the problem is at its most acute over the question of pacifism. Almost everybody wants peace, is in favour of peace, is a pacifist ideally; and of course it is the easiest verbal line to take, often the line of least resistance: it goes straight to people's hearts and sentiments, not to say their sentimentality—as Lansbury instinctively and invariably did. But the world is not an ideal world; it is not made like that. Then what is the point of proceeding on the assumption that it is? Politics is about the real world, not an ideal world that never existed and never will; one has in politics, as in anything else, to accept the medium one has to work in, to accept human beings as they are and the forces at work and do one's best with them. Often in human history it has been the idealists who have done most damage: Hitler was a sort of idealist; so were Calvin and Loyola who did so much harm and wrought so much suffering in the 16th century; so were Robespierre and the French Revolutionaries, who shed so much blood; so, in their malign way, are the Russian Communists. Idealism in politics can be a horrid thing, a very horrid thing.

What is one to think of the pacifism of a Lansbury? In both the wars

brought on the world by the Germans' mania for power, in all the suffering inflicted on Europe by their barbarism—whether latent or overt, obvious enough to anyone with a knowledge of their history—George Lansbury, who knew no history, was a pacifist. What are we to think of such pacifism when it has only the effect of confusing and lowering the resistance of decent men to criminal causes and retrograde forces? Yet that was, and is, the effect of a line like Lansbury's in relation to a Hitler: he was simply made use of by Hitler to soften up the opponents of his criminality. It led Lansbury to the idiocy of his visit to Hitler, to assuring people in this country, "He will not go to war, unless pushed into it by others," and to describing Hitler with admiration as "one of the greatest men of our time."

This crazy conclusion reveals the essential dottiness of Lansbury's political pacifism: what a *reductio ad absurdum* it is! And then one is supposed to sympathise with Lansbury as against Ernest Bevin, who served notice on him as Leader of the Labour Party with the famous outburst:—"It is placing the executive in an absolutely wrong position to take your conscience round from body to body asking to be told what to do with it." But, of course, all one's sympathies are with Ernest Bevin: it was pure emotional self-indulgence on Lansbury's part to go hawking his pacifist heart about the country, when the country was faced with such danger from such criminals as Hitler and Mussolini. In fact, the pacifist became the worst danger to the

* *George Lansbury* By Raymond Postgate. Longmans. 21s.

best causes, including his own. It is the dilemma of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov*, faced with the absolutism of Christ in a relativist world.

But we can see the issue on a lower common-sense plane, in Lansbury's political career. The greatest danger to the Labour Movement has always been that of a heart rotted out with sentimentality: Lansbury always fostered that, unfailingly appealed to it. But it is always so much easier to appeal to feelings than to heads; and he is the truly responsible statesman who does the latter—especially in the Labour movement, which had so much more need of heads.

Mr. Postgate's biography of Lansbury conforms to this essential dichotomy. It is not at all bad; or rather, it is partly good and partly bad. On the essentially private side of Lansbury's spirit—his wonderful charitableness, his unceasing work for the poor and the needy, his innate goodness and inextinguishable kindness. In all these ways Lansbury was a great gentleman and a great Christian; nothing mean or underhand or selfish or even coarse could be conceived of him, so that no wonder thousands of people loved him as my own father did—an obscure and unknown Cornish clay-worker. On all that side Mr. Postgate's book is good, for he too loved Lansbury, though he does not share or understand his religious inspiration. He is good, too, on much of Lansbury's public career, as founder and editor of the *Daily Herald*, on his social work in the East End of London, and as First Commissioner of Works opening up the royal parks to the people.

But this kind of thing does not add up to statesmanship; and Lansbury—

unlike Ernest Bevin or Arthur Henderson—was not a statesman. And when Mr. Postgate comes to deal with the really important questions, the agonising issues of statesmanship, he completely falls down. The jejuneness of his account of the 1914–18 war is almost unbelievable. He seeks to establish a difference of kind between the first German war and the second. He tells us that there were no calculated invasions like those before 1939—as if the invasion of Belgium in 1914 had not all along been part of the calculated plan of the German General Staff! It is the sheer ignorance of these people that shocks one almost as much as their lack of judgment and their silliness. And, of course, it goes along with a complete absence of any sense of justice towards our own record, towards Edward Grey for example; we are held as much responsible for these wars as the barbarians who forced them on Europe. As a matter of historical fact, both wars were merely two waves in one movement, the German attempt to dominate Europe and the world. If it was right to resist the Germans in 1939, it was equally right to resist them in 1914. And all my sympathies are with the poor lads who laid down their lives doing it, rather than with those safely ensconced persons engaged in trailing their consciences around for public admiration.

These Left intellectuals are hopeless: they learn nothing and they forget everything essential. It is difficult to understand or account for such childishness in grown men. One could respect people so much more if they would occasionally admit that they had been plain wrong.

A. L. ROWSE.

DAVID BEATTY

DAVID BEATTY

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF DAVID, EARL BEATTY. By Rear-Admiral W. S. Chalmers. *Hodder and Stoughton*. 25s.

REAR-ADMIRAL CHALMERS is a distinguished and (it is not always the same thing) a highly intelligent naval officer now in retirement, who has written a book about his hero and personal friend the late Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty.

This is not a first-class biography, first because the author is too close to his subject to see the wood for the trees, and, secondly, because Admiral Chalmers is a competent rather than an inspired author. Furthermore, the author has had to overcome two additional difficulties. This book is the official biography of David Beatty in two senses. It is the book authorised by the family, and it may be assumed that the author has been obliged to pay some attention to their wishes in the use he has made of documents. Secondly, Admiral Chalmers was a very able staff officer who at one time was the director of the Naval Staff College. He was also on Beatty's staff at the Battle of Jutland. He has therefore found it difficult to exclude from the book a good deal of technical matter which, although of great interest to the naval reader—including the present writer—who served in the North Sea during World War I, is rather heavy going for the general reader. The book is to be commended for the early chapters, in which there are many exciting pages about the Nile campaign to avenge Gordon's death at Khartoum, a campaign which launched David Beatty on his meteoric career; and also for the revelation it provides—if only to a partial extent—of the tragedy in David Beatty's life through his marriage to the divorced wife of Mr. Tree. There are three books in David Beatty's life. First the personal book: in this one would learn that Beatty (like Nelson) was an actor, a tremendous, lovable and magnificent boulder, and a vibrant and fearless personality who, to use a cliché, was "a born leader of men."

I would like to pay the following

personal tribute to D.B. He was the only man I have ever met who was able to sweep me off my feet by sheer eloquence and *panache*. He did it when on our return from Jutland, where the ship in which I was serving had endured heavy casualties, he came on board and addressed the survivors. He was terrific and hypnotic. In this personal book, we should also learn much more about his personal tragedy in which (again like Nelson) a woman tortured and distressed him, and the outward glories of his career were turned to ashes by the sorrows in his heart. She could have been his sheet anchor; she was his *drogue*—or so it would seem from the pages of Admiral Chalmers' book. But the evidence is one-sided. We learn little about her. Was she a B. or merely a neurotic? Admiral Chalmers is too much of an officer and a gentleman to discuss this question, but it is fundamental to the issue.

The second book on Beatty would deal with his qualities as a sea-officer, and this volume would contain the record of a man whose qualities entitle him to the highest praise: Beatty, the splendid play-boy, obscured from many people the fact that he had a high intelligence and sound tactical and strategical conceptions. Through no fault of his own he was not destined to add a Trafalgar to naval history, but he deserved the surrender of the High Seas Fleet. This was his finest hour and the pages in which Chalmers describes this historic and dramatic moment are so good that one could do with some more of them. On the controversy about Jutland, which tended to revolve around the personalities of Jellicoe and Beatty, the author of this book is altogether too genteel. Beatty always remained perfectly loyal to Jellicoe, but—unless I misunderstood his observation when I stayed with him for a weekend in 1933—he considered that a great opportunity had been missed. The fact is that the Royal Navy in World War I was far from efficient and there was a good deal of truth behind the gibe that the question was whether the Army could win the war before the Navy lost it. The story of 1939-45 is a very different tale..

The third book which could be written about Beatty would deal with his activities after 1919 and his relations with the politicians, and in this book we should be told how it was that, though in the prime of life when he retired in 1927, his remarkable attainments, supported by a formidable reputation, were never used in the public service.

This great man whose naval career had no parallel in the 19th century fizzled out in a quite extraordinary manner. There is a mystery here which remains to be revealed.

I have written that there are three books in Beatty's life; Admiral Chalmers has given us a slice of each and the result is that his book, though worthy of attention, is not worthy of its subject; or, if it is, then Beatty was not the man that I think he was.

STEPHEN KING-HALL.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIM

GEOFFREY CHAUCER OF ENGLAND. By Marchette Chute. *Robert Hale*. 15s.

THERE are three ways of imagining mediæval London. We can think of stench and leprosy (though Miss Chute says that the smells were not so bad, after all); we can follow the pre-Raphaelites and sigh for the architecture, the gay costumes and the chivalry of court-life in those days; or, thirdly, we can re-enter a "London small and white and clean" by carefully reading this remarkable book. Anyone who was fascinated by the same author's *Shakespeare of London* will know what to expect—a vivid, detailed and well-documented reconstruction of Chaucer's background.

We must realise, for example, that thoughts of heaven and hell were seldom far from the mediæval mind. On his death-bed Chaucer, we learn, lamented that he had written so much about earthly love. We have also to realise that life and work were rigorously controlled. "It took four guilds to make a knife: the Cutlers, the Bladesmiths, the Hafters and the Sheathers. And it took five guilds to

made a saddle." In short, the Church regulated a man's life and the Guilds regulated his work.

Chaucer's father was a man of substance, a vintner who bought wine abroad and sold it to English innkeepers. The poet himself made a good marriage which brought him into a kind of relationship to the great John of Gaunt. He spent much of his life as an important civil servant, supervising the export of wool to the Continent and having to keep accounts as precisely as his father had done before him. In order to be really close to the seat of custom he lived on the first floor of the "Aldgate." Most readers will remember that he was sent by the King on several embassies, and that in this way he visited Flanders, France and Italy. In fact, we know much more about Chaucer than we know about Shakespeare. It is odd, for instance, to find him in charge of the seating and the scaffolding erected for an obviously gorgeous tournament.

The author emphasises various aspects of mediæval life. Take, for instance, this excerpt: "When Chaucer describes Dido he says that she was so good and so beautiful a lady that if God himself were to choose someone to love,

'Whom should he loven but this lady sweet?'

This may come as a shock to the modern reader, but it would not be a shock to a mediæval one. He had seen God many times, along with Adam and Herod and Noah and the rest, and while he knew that the miracle plays were not quite real and only approximated these holy characters, he was also convinced that God was only a short distance upwards, residing with all his court about Him in the sky." Another point is that the mediæval man had two views of women. Either they were the angelic objects of chivalric love or they were sinful temptresses and sluts. Each view is delineated by Chaucer. Certainly it is amusing to realise how from first to last the poet (subtle enough to have been sent on those embassies abroad) liked to suggest that he was a short stout simpleton. Indeed, Miss Chute points out that on the

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIM

way to Canterbury it is only the poet who was incapable of entertaining his companions with a story in verse (*Sir Thopas*) and who has to descend to prose.

Even in the 17th century intelligent readers not only found difficulty in understanding the old poet but also, not realising that he meant many terminal e's to be sounded in the French manner, affirmed that he had a poor ear for metre. Ever since then, moreover, innumerable poetry-lovers have been defeated by his archaic words and constructions. Those who surmount these obstacles have found him to be the happiest, most English, most humorous, most tolerant and most companionable of our poets; and now a vast number of listeners must have made the same delightful discovery when they heard the brilliant modernisations of Mr. Coghill, a transposer who makes every line easily intelligible and yet contrives to keep so much of the old-world quaintness which has always made Chaucer so lovable.

Miss Chute has great fun with the lecherous Wife of Bath, suggesting that she is, like Falstaff, one of the major comic figures in our literature. The Wife of Bath, who had taken five husbands to church, has her recipe for managing a spouse, and it is one that always delighted a mediæval audience: to wit, brow-beat him from the first, throw his collection of anti-feminist tales into the fire, and pretend to be dead when he gives her a slap. So shameless and bawdy is the Wife that Juliet's Nurse may well have been one of her descendants. The Miller, too, is a gross fellow, and it is odd to imagine the behaviour of the Prioress while he was telling his tale, but the Prioress herself shows how keen was Chaucer's interest in everybody he met. Here is a dainty and exquisite lady.

The reader should not suppose that Miss Chute writes only about the *Canterbury Tales*, for she expresses a deep admiration of Chaucer's long version of the Troilus and Cressida story, and is indeed enviably familiar with all his varied

works. She also draws our attention to his courage in deciding almost at the start of his career to write in English while most of the courtly poets were still writing in French. Her book is not one to be scampered through; it is worth while to study it at the pace of the pilgrims on their way from Shoreditch to Canterbury.

CLIFFORD BAX.

HUMANISM IN A SPECIALIST AGE

THE APPLE AND THE SPECTROSCOPE. By T. R. Henn. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

NOT the only effect of the encroachment of democracy in the universities has been the steady effacement of liberal standards in education. The paths of knowledge are growing narrower and longer. Overwhelming competition from schools where the soul's salvation comes a poor second to university entrance has compelled several less single-minded foundations to deny arts students their due of biology and remit chemists their modicum of Greek. It was in answer to this deepening misconception that the science faculty at Cambridge asked Mr. Henn to give a course of lectures that should make an initial attempt on the problem by introducing undergraduates who were reading science to the values in English literature that had passed them by. This collection is a sample of the result. The title is taken from a reference in *Venus Observed* to the scientist's exercise of the judgment of Paris. The first eight lectures, experimental in an unfamiliar field, are each concerned with analysis in detail of method and effect in two pieces of verse: the last two and the conclusion are established in a larger scheme, with a general introduction to the study of English letters. Exposition follows stimulus.

Exposition will be for most people the less valuable part of the book. Faced with

an alarming span to cover in two lectures, Mr. Henn handles 'generalisation' gracefully and his pronouncements are orthodox enough. Sometimes his native originality breaks out; as when he quotes Collier's *Short View* as evidence of the decline in Puritanism on the grounds that it contained "a collection of immoral passages from the plays of the previous years." Congreve made the same charge at the time, and Collier replied in all truth that he had indicated the lines but not quoted them. His ego was surely not so opaque as Mr. Henn would have it. These occasional challenges make it clear that though he preached to the unconverted, he has published for the converted—for educationalists and scholars who can appreciate the insight of his critical contribution.

It can be weighed to best advantage in the earlier, analytical lectures. Partly as a concession to the training of his audience and partly as a genuine means towards understanding, a poem is discussed in terms of formulæ and symbols before its meaning is dissected. Donne's *A Valediction: forbidding mourning*, Marvell's *To His Coy Mistress* and a vexed passage from *The Waste Land* react illuminatingly. Like all good criticism, Mr. Henn's suggestions seem instantly familiar: the terror of the horse that echoes through Shakespeare, or the melancholy sureness of Ecclesiastes' picture of old age. But the author's prime achievement, which operates just as forcibly in print as it must have done in the lecture-room, is to send people back to the books. Nothing is more salutary than a reminder that it cannot all be learnt from the reviews—that one can never do more than scratch the surface of an extending plain of knowledge, but that a lifetime can be worse spent than in scratching.

JOHN HILARY.

Novels

THE SWISS SUMMER. Stella Gibbons.
Longmans. 12s. 6d.

THE LIEUTENANT MUST BE MAD. Hellmut Kirst. *Harrap.* 12s. 6d.

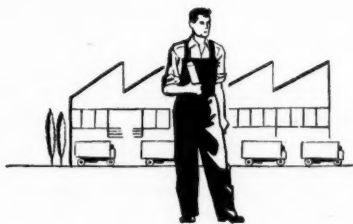
HERO OF A SUMMER'S DAY. John Pudney.
The Bodley Head. 11s. 6d.

MY FELLOW DEVILS. L. P. Hartley.
Barrie. 12s. 6d.

MITTEE. Daphne Rooke. *Gollancz.*
10s. 6d.

THOUGH it sounds notes of pathos, *The Swiss Summer* is as light-hearted and brittle a novel as one expects of Stella Gibbons, and as admirably written. It tells of the relationships that develop amongst the occupants, authorised and otherwise, of rich old Lady Dalgleish's Bernese chalet, gift to her late husband from the Swiss Government. A mere whim led to Lucy Cottrell's invitation, with instructions to report in writing to the owner, and she was permitted to invite her godson and his friend. But Mrs. Blandish, the companion who confidently hoped to inherit the chalet, virtually made it a *pension*, with the Price-Whartons and their daughter Kay (friend of her own gawky daughter) and, disastrously, Miss Propter. And in the background was Utta, old caretaker with an uncompromisingly Swiss loyalty. The tale does not tax the intelligence or disturb the emotions, but gives pleasurable entertainment while it delightfully evokes the Alpine scene.

I also found much entertainment in *The Lieutenant Must be Mad*—the first inside-German view of the war that I have met. But I found its politics puzzling, whilst I suspect that a German may find its satire poignant. In brief, Lieutenant Strick after three years on the Eastern front is posted to a garrison town. Chance promptly faces him with a piece of graft which his fighting service and his character drive him to expose. This leads to his appointment as National Socialist Garrison Officer. Now he can expose one racket after another—good fun, whatever your nationality. Nor



WHAT'S TRUE OF THE FACTORY IS TRUE OF THE HOME

EVERY factory manager will agree that to run a factory properly with out of date, inefficient equipment is quite impossible. But — as any housewife will tell you — exactly the same thing is true when it comes to running a home.

Today, with the extra difficulties of rationing, rising prices and shortages all round, every British housewife fully deserves any help that she can possibly get.

It is, therefore, a source of great satisfaction to us at Hoover Limited that our electric cleaners and washing machines are doing so much to relieve unnecessary domestic drudgery.

There are, however, large numbers of homes where the mother of the family still has to do the cleaning and washing by hard manual labour—often at the expense of her health and other duties. This is a social evil which we believe should no longer exist in this country.

We look forward, therefore, to the day, when with purchase tax abolished and free supplies of raw materials available, we shall be able to maintain maximum production of both cleaners and washing machines and supply these essential pieces of equipment to all sections of the community at the lowest possible prices.

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is it hard to grasp the clash between Army and Party. But there is another current too, a kind of national resistance which seems to explain Strick's survival despite the startling measures he takes after the abortive attempt to murder Hitler. My political puzzlement impeded my assessment of the characters, but I found the book most readable. A word of thanks, too, to the translators, Richard and Clara Winston, though their use of the word "squint" is tiresome.

From John Pudney comes a dramatic tale of a Thames of river-steamers and a grand home on "Pike Island"; of beautiful young Natalie, her brother, her suitors, and her family circle; and of Robert, the dangerous little thug who saves her life and wins her heart. This infatuation strains credulity, nor does Robert ring true—how could he be taken for anything but what he is? This is the weak point in a book less notable for its depth of character-drawing than for its brilliant depiction of a life-beside-the-river which to me at least is completely strange. But if *Hero of a Summer's Day* (ironical title) has this weakness at its heart, none the less it carries the reader along as irresistibly as the weir-stream that wrecked Natalie's canoe and started her sorry affair.

The theme of *My Fellow Devils* is the sudden marriage of Margaret Pennefather to Colum McInnes, and its aftermath. She is not in her first youth, but is well-to-do, good, and given to good works. He is a film-star, familiar in gangster roles and with an infectious evil in him. Between his moral values and Margaret's is an unbridgeable gulf in which her love crashes to destruction. But the core of this thoughtful novel is not so much the marriage-wreck as the spiritual anguish and questionings which it begets in Margaret, driving her towards a decision to enter the Roman Church against the advice of an understanding priest. To say that she comes to see Colum as the Devil is to explain the book's title, but to suggest a melodramatic quality with which L. P. Hartley deliberately does not endow it. It is a measure of his ability that though

this deserves to be called a novel with a purpose, it is as absorbing as it is purposeful.

On the other hand *Mittee* is thoroughly melodramatic. Its scene is South Africa in the last quarter of the 19th century. Its narrator is Selina, a "coloured" girl. Its centre is Mittee, the beautiful white girl with whom Selina was brought up, whom she loves, and of whom she is madly jealous. Mittee's marriage to a Boer, dark of purpose and insatiable of appetite; Mittee's love for an English missionary-doctor: these, and much violence and unrestrained passion in Mittee's and Selina's circumstances and amongst the black people who surround them, are set against a background of wild veldt to which, whether her colours are bright or sombre, Daphne Rooke gives an air of disquieting authenticity. She leaves no doubt that this is not a novel about South Africa but a South African novel.

MILWARD KENNEDY.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

ONE of the most massive and formidable undertakings in modern publishing is in progress. *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* are divided into four two-volume sets. Each set comprises between 1,400 and 1,600 pages, more than 1,500 letters, 16 pages of illustrations and an index. *The Years of Preparation* (Harvard University Press, Geoffrey Cumberlege, £6 10s.) are the first two books to appear, under the editorship of Professor Elting Morison, who has decided to print about 10,000 letters in all out of the 100,000 or so available. The first President Roosevelt was a man of abounding energy (did he not publish a book called *The Strenuous Life*?), and in these first two volumes (1868–1900) we see him grow from uncertain youth to become Governor of New York. Roosevelt was not an inspired letter writer. He was too

Books in Brief

slangy and impatient. There is no doubt that the collected letters will have historical importance.

* * *

The second play in the new Arden Shakespeare is *Love's Labour's Lost* (Methuen, 15s.), edited by Richard David. It is based on H. C. Hart's original Arden edition, but the introduction and notes are new, and there is a summary of the considerable researches and speculations that have been devoted to the play in recent years. I have always thought the Arden Shakespeare to be by far the best edition for any reader who needs something more than a bare text. There is every reason to think that Professor Una Ellis-Fermor, the General Editor, will maintain and, possibly, raise the very high standard set by her predecessor.

* * *

It would be difficult to find anyone better able to write an enjoyable and popular account of *Westminster Hall* (Michael Joseph, 21s.) than Mr. Hilary St. George Saunders, formerly Librarian to the House of Commons. The book begins with a thrilling account of the great fire of 10-11 May, 1941, when the roof of the Hall caught fire and serious damage was done to the House of Commons. There follows the great pageant of history and ceremonial that began in the 11th century and continues to this day. It is a fascinating story.

* * *

Drama: Its Costume and Décor (Studio Ltd., 30s.) is by Mr. James Laver, who has worked since 1922 on the staff of the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, at the Victoria and Albert Museum. He is now Keeper of the Department. The Museum contains one of the most important collections of theatrical material in the world. With the help of over 200 illustrations Mr. Laver gives an admirable historical survey of the theatrical scene from early Greek

A. L. Rowse

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"This endearing and scholarly book . . . a triumph in a manner more exacting than it seems." *Punch*.
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A distinguished author gives her first-hand impressions of the present Indian renaissance. "It is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book, and no one can doubt its sincerity." *Glasgow Herald*. 15s.

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THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

and Roman times to the present day. An excellent summary of the pictorial side of stagecraft.

* * *

Michael Howarth-Booth's *Effective Flowering Shrubs* (Collins, 25s.) is an ideal present for all garden-lovers. It is beautifully produced and illustrated with superb colour photographs. The author goes through the year and gives the names, with full details of care and planting, of the finest varieties of every available shrub. An admirable book.

* * *

During the war we got to know the B.B.C. announcers well. Their voices, serene, well-modulated in victory or distress, were punctual and friendly. If I may venture a personal tribute here, I should like to say that after very many hundreds of professional meetings with Stuart Hib-

berd, Frank Phillips, Alan Howland, Bruce Belfrage, Alvar Lidell, Lionel Marson, Joseph Macleod, and the rest of them, I have never known an announcer who failed in courtesy and helpfulness in shepherding a broadcaster to the microphone. Recently Mr. Hibberd wrote his reminiscences, and they were not as revealing as they ought to have been. Now Mr. Bruce Belfrage makes his bow with *One Man in His Time* (Hodder, 12s. 6d.). I can honestly recommend it as a most amusing and light-hearted account of the writer's experiences in the B.B.C. and elsewhere.

* * *

In 1920 André Gide remarked that he wrote for the generation that is to come, and we have done him the honour to think and talk about him a very great deal. Now Mr. George Painter, a critic of taste and ability, has written a critical and biographical study, *André Gide* (Barker, 8s. 6d.), which is admirably concise and selective. Mr. Painter believes that Gide "has no modern equal as a giver of sheer pleasure, aesthetic, intellectual and sensory; but he is even more important as a heroic guide in the acquisition of personal happiness, virtue and liberty." This is a large claim, and although one may not necessarily agree with it, there is no doubt that Mr. Painter advances it with sincerity and with a full knowledge of his subject.

* * *

To end up with I should like to call attention to two novels which will find numberless readers. Mr. Norman Collins, whose activities at Broadcasting House were widely recognised as being public-spirited, has somehow found time to write another long novel. Mr. Collins believes in the tradition. He would not, I am sure, refuse to acknowledge his debt to Dickens, Trollope, and Priestley. He sets out to tell a good, long satisfying story, and he knows how to do it. *Children of the Archbishop* (Collins, 15s.) will satisfy numerous readers who enjoy good plot and shrewd characterisation and are not averse to a liberal use of coincidence. I enjoyed this novel thoroughly.

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BOOKS NEW AND OLD

Mr. Paul Gallico conquered readers everywhere with a very short tale, *The Snow Goose*. He has just brought out *The Small Miracle* (Michael Joseph, 5s.), a charming, slender *conte* about a little boy and his much loved donkey. It should sell in thousands and thousands.

E. G.

* * *

Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Okinawa, Iwojima—these are names little known to the British public but very familiar in the United States, where they recall outstanding landmarks on the way to victory over Japan. In *The U.S. Marines and Amphibious War* (Princeton University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 48s.) Peter A. Isely and Philip A. Crowl present a fully documented account, written with the co-operation of the U.S. Marine Corps and the U.S. Navy, of the great trans-Pacific campaign in which these actions were fought. The treatment is analytical as well as historical, and also discusses the theory, development and practice of amphibious warfare. Among other conclusions, this important book reinforces a main lesson of the Normandy landing—that, given appropriate conditions, which are by no means impossible to create, Britain in the second half of the 20th century is no longer secure against major invasion by foreign enemies.

J. M.

THE MACHINERY OF MONEY

THE BRITISH BANKING MECHANISM. By W. Manning Dacey. *Hutchinson University Library*. 8s. 6d.

MR. MANNING DACEY'S book, which appears in *Hutchinson's University Library*, is designed, as the publishers tell us, for the student and the intelligent layman. It is a timely explanation of a difficult and complex subject: it appeared most topically at almost the

same moment as the raising of the Bank Rate and the subsequent statement by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Committee of London Clearing Bankers, which brought within the purview of the ordinary newspaper reader one aspect of higher monetary policy.

Twenty years ago the student of economics was introduced to a monetary system so long established as to appear almost unchangeable. In the ninety years that followed the Bank Charter Act of 1844, the Bank of England had brought to a high pitch of efficiency their handling of a mechanism which was at least in part automatic. The Gold Standard was in essence an international system, and the accent was on external monetary policy. Bank Rate was the Bank's main instrument, and the commercial banks and the discount market its principal agents; and, viewed retrospectively, the system had a simplicity which the student of to-day has good reason to envy.

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The Machinery of Money

The first World War unsettled the whole basis of international finance and of course most profoundly disturbed our domestic economy, but in the 'twenties our monetary aim was still the re-establishment of the old order. Wisdom after the event sees that it was always a hopeless endeavour; and the early 'thirties saw the beginning of the changes which have so completely altered the study of economics. In September, 1931, Great Britain finally abandoned the Gold Standard and embarked on the uncharted seas of currency management. In June, 1932, Bank Rate went down to 2 per cent. and, although few realised it at the time, we had set out on the policy of cheap money. *Post hoc* came a steady improvement in our internal economy, and, whether or not that improvement was also *propter hoc*, it is certainly true that without the invaluable experience of those years, our monetary structure could not have weathered September, 1939, with so remarkably little strain.

Through all those years the Bank of England remained the final monetary authority, as it did in the testing days of war. But the temper of the times was changing, and in 1946 the Bank of England was "nationalised." The Parliamentary debates which preceded nationalisation showed how comparatively uncontroversial this first act of Socialism was, and how few of our legislators (in this the true reflection of their constituents) had any real understanding of monetary principles. Before 1946, for a great many years, the Bank had worked intimately with the Treasury; since 1946 that intimacy has continued. There is no present practical importance in the fact that, in the last resort, the Bank must now do what it is told; but Governmental activity and responsibility had to a small extent formally expanded, and every such expansion is significant, whatever its practical effects.

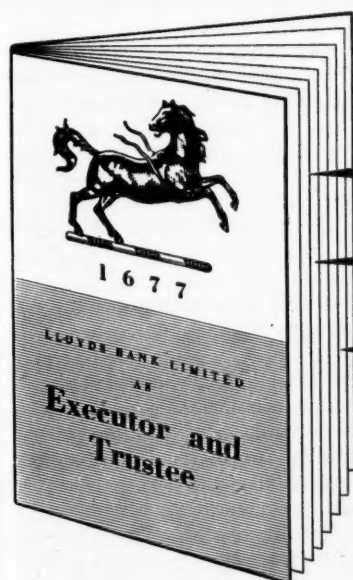
Ever since 1931 monetary control without the thermostat provided by the Gold Standard has been progressively studied; and it is understandable that in so changed an environment the mechanism itself

THE MACHINERY OF MONEY

should have considerably altered from its traditional form. It is most proper that the citizen should understand as much as possible of his Government's problems and duties, and for this reason, even if there were no other, Mr. Manning Dacey's book should be warmly commended to a wide circle of readers. It must not be thought that he makes child's-play of an essentially difficult subject: the reader must bring intelligence and concentration to his reading. But if he does this, even if he starts with no knowledge of the subject, he will have a surprisingly good understanding of it by the end; it is no small achievement to have compressed so much into less than 200 pages.

The scope of the book is defined in the Foreword: "... it should be emphasised that it is the *principles* on which the modern banking mechanism functions that we are seeking to elucidate. . . .

There is relatively little discussion of the problems of monetary policy, for the reason that a mere change in the objective of policy, however radical, does not in itself imply the need for change in our monetary *system*." This primary concern with the machine rather than with its direction powerfully assists the clarity of exposition of the earlier chapters. The book opens with an explanation of the basic importance of deposit banking—that the banker need not keep in his till all the money entrusted to him, and that his investment and lending of the cash so freed adds enormously to the available "money" of the community. There follows some discussion of the means by which the highly flexible credit structure is controlled, of the changed place of the discount market in the machine, of the Treasury Bill and the Treasury Deposit Receipt, and of Exchange Fund finance—



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the method which the 'thirties substituted for the Gold Standard as a means of achieving a measure of external stability. The purely expository part of the book ends with a difficult but most important chapter on Bank Rate and its working.

The last chapters—to the layman the most valuable and (if he has followed all that goes before) the most interesting in the book—discuss the cheap money that preceded the war and the ultra-cheap money that followed it; deficit financing; and the present assets structure of the commercial banks. Here there is inevitably something more than a mere study of the machine. The abrogation implicit in any cheap money policy of a great deal of the controlling power, and the corresponding necessity for a great increase in, or at least, as in the post-war years, the maintenance of, other available controls, have been amply demonstrated in practice in recent years. And the deficit finance of the war and the immediate post-war years, and the present nature of the banks' assets (of which advances form about a quarter, as compared with something more than one-third before the war), are in their different ways symptomatic both of the present state of our economy and of the way the mechanism is now operated.

It was still possible in 1930 to be intelligently interested in politics without any knowledge of economics. That this is no longer true reflects our desperate interest in international money as well as our altered view of the Government's social responsibilities at home. But it is alarmingly true that, for almost everyone outside the very small circle of experts, economics is about as well understood as astrology. Everything that serves to break down this ignorance is to be welcomed, and it is to be hoped that the topicality of *The British Banking Mechanism*, which deals with so vital a section of economics, will combine with the importance of its subject to attract that intelligent layman for whom it was in part designed. For students, of course, it became essential reading as soon as it was published.

P. E. SMART.

CARS OF 1952

THREE NOTABLE EXAMPLES ANALYSED

By THE EARL OF CARDIGAN

IT must always be something of a conundrum to attempt to pick three representative cars for examination—and some may argue that the first car of my choice on this occasion is very far from being representative of anything except itself. I agree that the 2-litre Bristol is certainly a highly individualistic product: but may one not reply that the British motor industry, whether in good times or bad, characteristically offers its public a proportion of unusual motor cars, designed to please the few rather than to be sold on a great scale to the many?

It is thus, at any rate, that I justify the inclusion of the admittedly out-of-the-ordinary Bristol as one of the significant cars of 1952. Students of sports car design may detect in the chassis a certain continental influence: but equally striking is the degree of mechanical refinement and the luxurious nature of the coachwork, marking the Bristol Company's determination to build an all-round motor car of the highest quality.

This car's appearance is of great interest, as illustrating the old adage that what looks right generally is right, and *vice versa*. Here we have no bulbosity for the mere sake of being bulbous, no curves for the sake of being curvacious. The Bristol has genuine streamlining, vouched for by the men who streamline Bristol aircraft. It almost certainly goes a little faster in consequence: to my mind, it also pleases and satisfies the eye.

Inside, great care has obviously been lavished on the coachwork, and the comfort of the front seats is beyond criticism. The driver finds himself faced by an array of knobs and buttons too numerous to specify—and it is to the car's credit that each one controls some worthwhile and practical device. (As it was a raw day, I think that I appreciated most the built-in heating system!) As for the back seats, a



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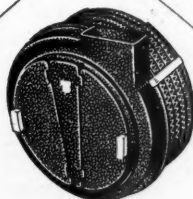
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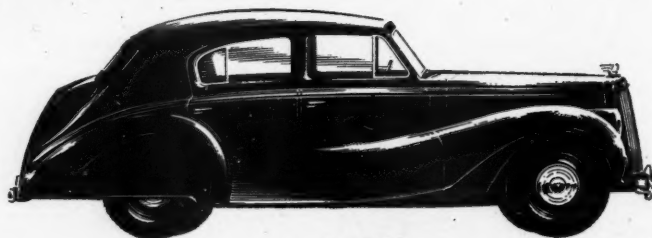
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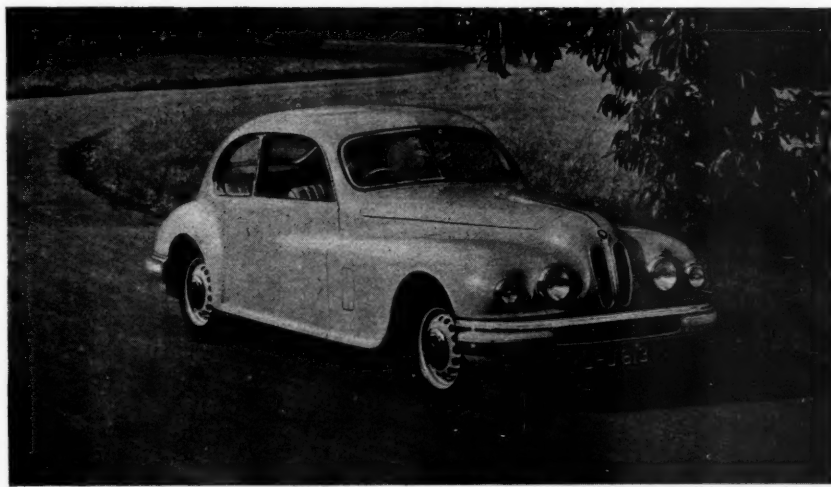
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14/196

CARS OF 1952



THE BRISTOL 2-LITRE.

friend of mine recorded the opinion that they were extremely comfortable. I must, however, add that my friend is 5 feet 8½ inches in height, and wears a cap: I, who measure 6 feet, and prefer a trilby hat, was forced to a different opinion.

The highly efficient six-cylinder overhead-valve engine (2 litres = 16 h.p. R.A.C. rating, approx.) gives the car a brilliant performance, provided always that full and intelligent use is made of the gearbox, with its close ratios of (ignoring small fractions) 4, 5, 7 and 14 to 1. A speed of 60 m.p.h. is comfortable going in third gear, and the same may be said of 80 m.p.h. in top gear. The maximum speed is stated to be in the region of 100 m.p.h.—and I have not the least difficulty in believing this. When I touched 80 m.p.h. at 4,000 r.p.m. I was conscious of a big reserve of power in hand: moreover, the speedometer struck me as being one of those rare and noble instruments which tell the truth!

Let no one suppose that the necessity for using the gears is tiresome. From the moment (long ago now) when synchromesh was first invented, manufacturers could quite safely have built close-ratio gearboxes for everyday use; and I am permanently astonished that this has so seldom been done. The Bristol has synchromesh top,

third and second gears. It has—a small but ingenious point—a free-wheel bottom gear for convenience in slow-moving traffic. There is thus no change which cannot be accomplished by the laziest of drivers moving his gear lever in the most casual way. That lever is the key to outstanding performance: anyone can use it, and the veriest duffer need not be afraid of it.

It remains to be said that the Bristol is so well sprung and well balanced that it can be driven with confidence even under bad conditions. I, myself, drove it fast over roads where wet leaves lay on top of wet tarmac, and was never uneasy. The steering I thought very good, the brakes moderately so. But the car's greatest asset is this; that, fast or slow, good going or bad, he who sits at the wheel may feel a real sense of pleasure in so doing. Alas that its price, with Purchase Tax, takes it into the £3,000 class!

The next car of my trio, the Morris Minor, is of course wholly different in character, but not less interesting as an example of what British designers are doing. Its performance no doubt thrilled me less than that of the Bristol: but I think I can truthfully say that it surprised me more. Here is a little car with a tiny engine (four cylinders with side valves,



THE 8-H.P. MORRIS MINOR.

8 h.p. = less than 1,000 c.c.): yet it can get over the ground, if one is in a hurry, with really remarkable briskness.

Briskness is the right word, for the Minor does not set out to be especially fast. The makers have, with courage, given it a relatively high ($4\frac{1}{2}$ to 1) top gear. The car would certainly go faster—but also wear out faster—if it had a 5 to 1 gear. As it is, one may keep one's foot hard down on the accelerator for indefinite periods, never reaching such "revs" as to injure the engine, but maintaining a speed round about 55 m.p.h. I repeat that this speed, in my judgement, could not be injurious.

The brisk performance over give-and-take roads is gained by making use of the very well-planned gearbox (four speeds, with synchromesh on the three uppermost). The Minor can climb hills easily at 40 m.p.h. in third gear, and can indeed get near to 50 m.p.h. in this 7 to 1 ratio. It can climb at 30 m.p.h. in second gear against a stiff gradient. When these figures are considered, it will be seen that he who uses his gears freely can put this small Morris along in such a way as to show a clean pair of rear tyres to many a larger car.

The driving position is comfortable, and there is plenty of leg-room in front; but I

found myself sometimes embarrassed by the three control pedals being set so close together. Lest it should be thought that this was due to the great size of my feet, I would mention that my wife, who has small feet, also felt that the pedals might with advantage be more widely spaced. At the back, the Minor provides a fair degree of comfort, although large-scale passengers may regret the down-curving roof, and may be hampered by doors which do not open through a full right-angle. (It should be noted that the car which I drove was the four-door "Export" model: this last criticism almost certainly will not apply to the two-door saloon which is built for the home market.)

Reverting to the Minor's performance, it is not only in average speed that it goes beyond what one would expect of an 8 h.p. car. It also holds the road in a manner suggestive of something much bigger. The steering (mechanical enthusiasts should note the novel design) is exceedingly pleasant and definite, and the springing (by torsion bars in front) is remarkably effective in absorbing road shocks. The brakes are hydraulic, and can be used with a great deal of assurance: in short, the driver has the sense of his car being always well in hand.

Cars of 1952

Needless to say, the Morris Minor brings economy to a very high pitch—and this is a big factor in winning it a following in foreign markets, where it is welcomed for all short-distance purposes. Any Minor will do its 40 m.p.g. with ease—and I am told that Lord Nuffield has one which, under his skilled persuasion, does enormously better than this basic figure. The price of the car which I tested is £365, plus £204 Purchase Tax: the two-door saloon, however, sells at the all-in price of £519 10s.

The third car to be considered, the Austin "Sheerline," is again wholly different. Here is a big, powerful (28 h.p. = 3,995 c.c.) saloon model which is bound to win friends, in the first place, by its notably handsome appearance. The once-familiar Austin style of radiator cowl is retained, the coachwork lines are a happy blend of the conventional and the modern, and in my judgement the result is by far the most impressive-looking car that this long-established firm has yet produced.

In only one respect does this Austin belie its appearance: I would say that its looks are wholly British, whereas some of its mechanical features lean more to American than to English practice. Its springing is very much softer, and its steering more geared-down, than anything to which our home-grown motorists have hitherto been accustomed.

I do not for a moment wish to say that this is wrong. Myself, I am a conservative sort of Englishman, and so must not be expected to take easily to such things. On the other hand, there are some millions of American motorists (whom the Austin Company must very properly desire to please) and no doubt a fair sprinkling of home motorists also, who will vote this springing and steering to be entirely to their taste. I only remark that this is not traditional English taste.

From the passenger's point of view, I have nothing but praise. The coachwork, besides being handsome without, is admirably comfortable within, the two front seats being in the nature of arm-chairs, and the wide back seat providing all the leg-room and head-room that anyone could wish.



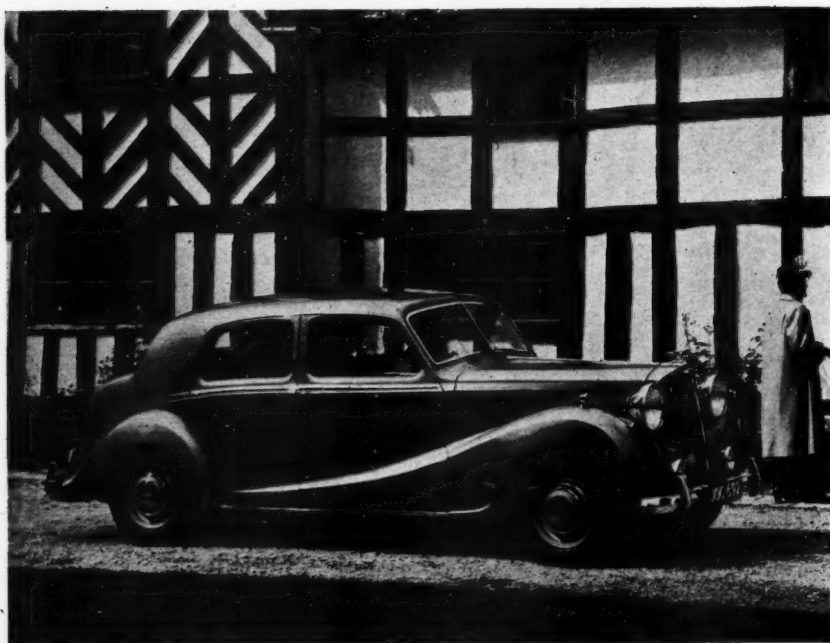
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RECORD REVIEW

By ALEC ROBERTSON

WAGNER'S *Die Meistersinger*, the second of the recordings made by Columbia of the Bayreuth Festival performances this year, shows a notable improvement in quality of sound over the third act of *Die Walküre*, which I reviewed in these columns last month. Owing to the peculiar grouping of the orchestra demanded by Herbert von Karajan, the conductor, the Prelude to Act 1 sounds a bit strident but matters improve the moment the curtain rises. It is possible that the traditional built-up sets, as opposed to the empty spaces adopted in *The Ring* and *Parsifal*, give more body to the sound and it will be interesting to hear if Decca fare better with *Parsifal* than Columbia did with *Die Walküre*. Otto Edelmann (Sachs), Gerhard Unger (David) Erich Kunz (Beckmesser), Elizabeth Schwarzkopf (Eva) and Ira Malanink (Magdalena) are all admirable exponents of their parts, Edelmann failing only to convince one of Sachs' full stature as a poet and of the deep springs of tenderness in him. This simply means that Friedrich Schorr has as yet had no successor. Hans Hopf is no more than the usual adequate and unimaginative Walter, but the small parts are all well done, the chorus sings splendidly, and the orchestra plays the glorious score, with its infinity of detail, as if it loved every note. Karajan has not yet penetrated to the heart of the contemplative Prelude to Act 3 but to him must go much of the credit for this superb performance. The recording itself is far from flawless, the constant stops, some of them very abrupt, are exasperating, there is a fair amount of noise on the stage and more in the audience who seem, as always, to take a delight in coughing during the quietest moments; but taken as a whole this issue is a grand achievement. (Columbia LX1465-98. Auto. LX8851-84.)

Gramophone history is made by the first issue of a complete (or almost complete) opera conducted by Toscanini. The opera is *La Traviata*, the orchestra that of the N.B.C., and the chief soloists are

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THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Licia Albanese (Violetta), Robert Merrill (Germont père) and Jan Peerce (Germont fils). Of these singers only Albanese comes within hailing distance of matching Toscanini's marvellous handling of the score, but the fact that the *Maestro* is heard singing himself once or twice probably indicates that he was conducting in a world of his own in which vocal unimaginativeness did not exist! At least there are good voices here and the chorus are first-rate but the value of the recording—which is rather dead in quality—lies in what the great conductor does with Verdi's simple looking score by observing scrupulously the demands of the composer and by his own deep insight into the music (H.M.V. DB21360-72. Auto DB9683-95).

Not many people will have been given record tokens opulent enough to cover the large cost of the two operas above, but, if they do not decide on a limited number of those discs, there are plenty of other good things to choose from. Ludwig Weber is a noble King Mark in the "address" from Act 2 and the Lament from Act 3 of *Tristan*, with fine playing by the Philharmonia Orchestra under Schüchter (Columbia LX8892-3) and in Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, we have at last a potentially great *lieder*-singer. This young baritone gives, as does Gerald Moore at the piano, a most sensitive and intimate performance of Beethoven's song cycle *An die Ferne Geliebte* (H.M.V. DB9681-2) and convincingly dramatic interpretations

of *Der Erlkönig* and *Die beiden Grenadiere*, also with Gerald Moore (H.M.V. DB21350). Both these issues are very well recorded. Schnabel completes his recording of the four Impromptus of Schubert's op. 90 with the A flat on H.M.V. DB21351 and Horowitz erases memories of his last Chopin record with the delicate playing of two Scarlatti sonatas (L483, L239) on H.M.V. DB21359.

A very charming disc by Karl Haas and his London Baroque Ensemble contains Mozart's *Fünf Kontretänze*, K609 (Parlophone R20597), a perfect recording of these enchanting country dances polished up for the quality!

Decca have served contemporary music well by putting Bloch's magnificent Piano Quintet on a L.P. disc, played with impeccable artistry and musical insight by the Quintello Chigiano (Decca LXT2626) and by giving us Frank Martin's *Petite Symphonie Concertante* and Stravinsky's *Divertimento (Baiser de la Fée)* on LXT2631 (Ansermet, soloists, Suisse Romande orchestra) although the recording of these two pieces has some unhappy moments and should not be bought unheard.

Finally, if you have not got the Decca recording of Haydn's "Surprise" Symphony (AK2204-6) you *must* get the one Beecham has done with the R.P.O. (Columbia LX1499-1501). It is even better; it is, indeed, the best performance (and recording) I have ever heard of the enchanting work. ALEC ROBERTSON.

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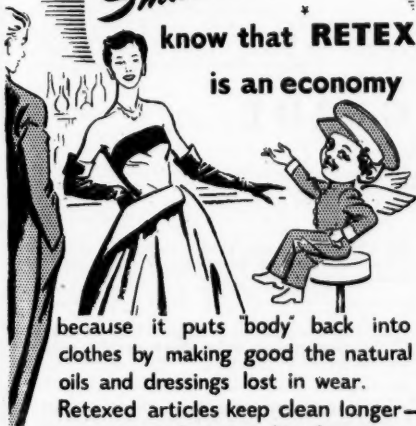
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